Historical Experience of Agricultural Cooperation in Our Country

PYONGYANG, KOREA
1975

76-248

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Foreign Languages Publishing House
Pyongyang, Korea
1975

UNIVERSITÄTS-BIBLIOTHEK 104 BERLIN
Ausgesondert

D 1976. 106

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FOREWORD

Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great revolutionary leader and the originator of the immortal Juche idea, said that a successful solution of the rural question was fundamental issue deciding the outcome of the revolution and construction and has always given profound attention to its solution.

The great leader emphasized the significance of the rural question particularly in the backward colonial-agricultural countries and showed them a new way to its solution.

Under the wise leadership of the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung our country successfully carried out the historic task of the agrarian reform at the stage of democratic revolution to free the agricultural productive forces from the shackles of feudal relations of production and then, on the basis of the success, set about agricultural cooperation to transform the individual peasant economy into socialist collective economy.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung clarified that the socialist transformation of the individual peasant economy was the most important revolutionary task at the stage of socialist revolution to wipe out all sources of exploitation and poverty in the countryside and radically improve the living standards of the peasants.

Having scientifically analysed the new historical background and specific conditions of our country in relation to agricultural cooperation, he put forward his original idea and theory on the socialist reorganization of the economic modes of agriculture prior to its technological transformation.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"...socialist transformation could not be held back when life itself demanded an immediate reorganization of the outdated relations of production and there were revolutionary forces prepared to carry it out. This was true even though the level of the development of the productive forces and of technology was

relatively low" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. III, p. 71).

Proceeding from his immortal Juche idea, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung carried out agricultural cooperation at the stage of socialist revolution by reorganizing the economic forms before technical transformation on the principle of voluntary participation by the peasants. He then saw to it that the Party and the state gave powerful leadership and assistance to the organized cooperative economy to finish agricultural cooperation in a very short time, strengthen and develop the cooperative economy.

Under the wise leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party and our people splendidly carried out the historic change by eradicating the outmoded socio-economic relations which had kept the peasants under harsh exploitation and oppression for thousands of years, and in this process gained priceless achievements and experience.

1. AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION IS AN ESSENTIAL TASK OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Our Party defined the solution of the rural question as one of the most important revolutionary tasks. It solved this question step by step in keeping with the stages of developing revolution.

At the stage of democratic revolution, it carried out agrarian reform and successfully abolished the feudalistic relationship of exploitation in the countryside. At the stage of socialist revolution, it effected agricultural cooperation and transformed the individual economy of the toiling peasants along socialist lines. As a result, the peasants were freed from exploitation and oppression once and for all and turned into socialist working people.

Following liberation, our Party, under the wise guidance of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, took up the agrarian reform to eliminate the feudalistic relationship of exploitation as the first task of democratic revolution and carried it out in a most thoroughgoing manner on revolutionary principles. Entering the period of socialist revolution, the Party put it forward as an important revolutionary task to reorganize the individual peasant economy along socialist lines and made unremitting efforts for the preparation of its fulfilment. When this was placed on the order of the day as an urgent task in the postwar years, the Party tackled the difficult and complicated revolutionary task without delay and smoothly carried it out in a brief span of time.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION IS THE MOST IMPORTANT REVOLUTIONARY TASK IN THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE OLD ECONOMY

It was the demand of the law of the development of our socialist revolution to transform the old relations of production which were based on private ownership and establish the complete dominance of the socialist relations of production.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The socialist transformation of the old relations of production in town and country is a cardinal task in the socialist revolution.

"The cooperativization of agriculture is most important in this transformation" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. V, p. 345).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, the basic task of socialist revolution is to establish the socialist system by bringing all the private means of production under socialist ownership. This is a historic transformation to free the productive forces from the shackles of old production relations and open a broad avenue for their development.

Our Party did not apply the method of expropriation to this historic transformation in which the old relations of production were replaced with new ones in accordance with the objective requirements of the developing productive forces.

The reason was that such small producers as peasants and handicraftsmen could never be the objects of expropriation because their property was not the product of exploitation but the fruit of their own labour and because they were the most dependable allies of the working class.

From this it followed that for a working-class party in power to establish the socialist system, it should render effective guidance and assistance to the peasants and many other small producers and lead them voluntarily to join the socialist cooperative economy through tireless explanation and persuasion.

In our country the capital of foreign aggressors and comprador capitalists and feudalistic landed estate were expropriated

at the stage of democratic revolution, and thus the socialist relations of production became dominant in industry, and the individual peasant economy prevalent in agriculture.

As a result, in the initial period of transition from capitalism to socialism, three economic sectors came into being—the socialist economic sector consisting mainly of socialist industry, the capitalist economic sector consisting of non-comprador trade and manufacture and of the rich peasant economy, which had not been abolished in the democratic revolution, and the small commodity production sector consisting of handicraft and individual peasant economy.

The socialist industry held the control of all the key branches of the economy in the years after liberation; the capitalist trade and manufacture was very weak because of the historical backwardness of our national economy; and small commodity production, the individual peasant economy in particular, made up the largest proportion.

This showed that without transforming small commodity production along socialist lines as well as abolishing the old economic sector of capitalist trade and manufacture at the stage of socialist revolution, it would be impossible to make the socialist production relations completely predominant and establish the socialist system in our country.

What was most important in the socialist transformation of the old economy in our country was the reorganization of the individual peasant economy.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Only when the individual peasant economy is transformed along socialist lines in the countryside, can we totally rid the peasants of all sources of exploitation and poverty and speedily increase agricultural production in a planned way" (*ibid.*, p. 345).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said, the socialist transformation of the individual peasant economy was the most important revolutionary task at the stage of socialist revolution—a task for eradicating all sources of exploitation and poverty in the countryside and for radically improving the living standards of the peasants.

Class differentiation and exploitative relationship in the rural area of our country were restricted because the state power was in the hands of the people led by the working class, because the major production means became the property of the entire people, and because the agrarian reform was carried out

thoroughly and the sale, mortgage and leasing of land forbidden.

It was impossible, however, completely to hold in check class differentiation and exploitative relations, so long as the individual peasant economy existed in the countryside and the capitalist economic sector and small commodity production in towns.

The individual peasant economy as a form of small commodity production serves as a socio-economic basis that engenders capitalist elements spontaneously, ceaselessly and in varying degrees. True, in our country the working-class party was in power and took legal measures against the growth of capitalist economic elements in order to consolidate the successes of the democratic reforms. But, as long as the individual peasant economy was retained, such legal measures alone could not totally prevent the exploitative practices; the existence of unseen relationships of exploitation was unavoidable.

Although permanent hiring of farmhands was prohibited by law, the exploitation of peasants by rich farmers continued because those peasants who received land had formerly been too poor in livelihood and means of farming; exploitation was practiced in a covert manner by the use of seasonally hired labour, through grain markets and usurious dealings in cash and kind and also by means of high rates of charges for the use of farm implements and draught animals.

The existence of such exploitative relationship allowed some of the peasants who benefited from the agrarian reform to become rich farmers and permitted the progress of class differentiation, though in a limited scope.

Thus, the predominance of the individual peasant economy in our countryside precluded the possibility of eradicating all sources of exploitation and poverty and radically improving the living standards of the peasantry, despite the fact that our Party, which was in power, thoroughly carried out the agrarian reform and took legal steps to consolidate its successes.

To free the peasants completely from exploitation and oppression of all forms was a revolutionary task that had to be carried out without fail in the socialist revolution, a revolution to abolish exploitation of man by man and bring about a radical change in the lives of the working people. This task could be successfully performed only by cooperativizing agriculture along socialist lines.

The socialist transformation of the individual peasant economy was also essential for releasing the agricultural productive forces from the shackles of the old relations of production and for ensuring the planned and proportionate development of industry and agriculture on the basis of the socialist economy.

The individual peasant economy did not admit the introduction of advanced technique nor did it effect extended reproduction. Barely capable of simple reproduction using backward primitive technique, it was not in a position rapidly to increase agricultural production and develop agriculture in keeping with the requirements of industrial progress and the demand of the people for higher living standards.

The individual peasant economy, a form of small commodity production based on private ownership, barred the state from completely overcoming the spontaneity in agricultural production and developing agriculture in a planned way despite the fact that the major means of production in industry were in its hands.

Coming under the category of small commodity production based on private ownership, the private peasant economy was left to the mercy of spontaneity in commodity production. Of course, the state regulated agricultural development to some extent according to its plan since the basic means of production were under its control, yet the predominance of the individual peasant economy in the countryside, which was based on spontaneous commodity production, hampered the planned development of agriculture.

The rural economy, incapable of planned production and extended reproduction, was not able to keep pace with the large-scale socialist industry which was developing rapidly and planfully. Sooner or later disproportion would occur between industry and agriculture and greatly retard the progress of the national economy as a whole.

If we were to ensure the planned and proportionate development of industry and agriculture by effecting a high rate of planned, extended reproduction in agriculture, it was imperative to transform the individual peasant economy into a large-scale socialist economy.

The socialist transformation of the private farming was also indispensable to further strengthening the worker-peasant alliance on a socialist basis, consolidating the rural positions and continuing vigorously to push the revolution.

Only by cementing the worker-peasant alliance and fortifying the rural positions at each stage of revolutionary develop-

ment was it possible to further consolidate the political foundations of the state power and successfully carry on the revolution.

In carrying out all its revolutionary tasks our Party always directed primary attention to reinforcing the worker-peasant alliance, the basis of the people's power. By strengthening this alliance and closely uniting the peasants around itself, it had successfully carried out the agrarian reform and abolished feudalistic landownership in the democratic revolution.

The agrarian reform in our country had greatly increased the political enthusiasm of the peasants by removing the feudalistic landownership, cementing the worker-peasant alliance on the new basis of landownership by the toiling peasants, emancipating them from feudal exploitation and oppression and making them masters of the people's power led by the working class. However, with the advance of the revolution from the democratic to socialist stage, the individual peasant economy based on private ownership could no longer serve as the solid economic basis of the worker-peasant alliance. Private property in the individual peasant economy and socialist property in industry were different socio-economic bases. So, the working class and the peasantry did not yet have common goal and interest on the same socialist basis.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Furthermore, we had to carry out the socialist revolution upon the completion of the democratic revolution in order to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the entire people based on the worker-peasant alliance on a new socialist foundation, wipe out the footholds of reactionaries and the hotbed breeding old ideas and reinforce the political basis of the revolution" (*Let Us Further Strengthen the Socialist System of Our Country,* Eng. ed., p. 4).

In this teaching, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung elucidated the idea that for the revolution to proceed to a new stage the unity and cohesion of the entire people should be cemented on a new basis, the political foundation of the revolution consolidated and, to this end, the worker-peasant alliance further strengthened on a new foundation.

The individual peasant economy which was the basis of the worker-peasant alliance at the stage of democratic revolution could no longer serve as the solid foundation of this alliance when the revolution was advancing to the socialist stage.

So, in order to push forward the revolution dynamically,

it was mandatory to further consolidate the worker-peasant alliance on the socialist foundation by transforming the individual peasant economy along socialist lines. Only then was it possible to lead the working class and the peasantry to have the common goal and interest and ally themselves more closely on the same socio-economic foundation and, on this basis, to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the entire people.

Furthermore, there was a danger that the individual peasant economy would become a foothold of the reactionaries and a hotbed of old ideas. For a steady and vigorous progress of the revolution, it was necessary to solidify the rural positions by eliminating the soil where the hostile classes might set foot and influence the peasants and by creating socio-economic conditions for the peasants to arm themselves with the revolutionary ideas of the working class. Hence, the socialist transformation of the private farming was indispensable.

Reinforcing the worker-peasant alliance, fortifying the rural positions and pushing forward the revolution forcefully were important tasks for the development of the socialist revolution in our country. These tasks could be solved only through the socialist cooperation of the individual peasant economy.

As can be seen from the above, agricultural cooperation was the only way for the most correct solution of the problems of the peasants' socio-economic status, for the development of the agricultural productive forces, for the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance, at the stage of socialist revolution. Thus, agricultural cooperation came to a head as an essential revolutionary task for the development of the socialist revolution.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION IN OUR COUNTRY MADE UNDER THE WISE LEADERSHIP OF THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY LEADER COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung instructed that the working-class party in power must regard the rural question as a matter of uninterrupted revolution and settle it at the stages of democratic and socialist revolutions.

The agrarian reform, which frees the peasantry from exploitation and subjugation by the landlords and releases the agricultural productive forces from the shackles of feudal relations of production, and the agricultural cooperation, which eliminates the capitalist elements in the countryside and reorganizes the individual peasant economy into a socialist collective economy, constitute an uninterrupted revolutionary process in which the rural question is solved through the democratic and socialist revolutions.

In our country the agrarian reform and agricultural cooperation were closely connected with each other; the enforcement of the former created the conditions for the latter.

Agricultural cooperation, a task for the socialist revolution, was also related with the nationalization of major industries and other democratic revolutionary tasks, which had been carried out before.

In accordance with the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's idea of uninterrupted revolution, our Party had contemplated agricultural cooperation at the time when it was carrying out the agrarian reform and other tasks for the democratic revolution.

Favourable conditions for agricultural cooperation had already been created in our country during the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"In the course of carrying out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution the landlords and comprador capitalists were eliminated and the basic means of production were nationalized; this created an important condition conducive to the future socialist transformation of agriculture.

"In carrying out the agrarian reform we confiscated all the lands not tilled by the owners including that of the landlords, and, after the reform, we strictly forbade the sale, mortgage and renting of land. As a result of such a thoroughgoing enforcement of the agrarian reform, not only was the landlord class eliminated, but the rich peasants who were originally a weak force in our country, were hard hit and their growth was severely restricted." (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. II, pp. 287-88).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, the agrarian reform which had been carried out in a most thoroughgoing way at the stage of democratic revolution provided an important condition for the socialist transformation of agriculture, restricting the growth of the rich peasants.

The agrarian reform, a task for the anti-feudal, democratic revolution, had confiscated without compensation all the lands not tilled by the owners including that of the landlords and distributed them free to the peasants. As a result, the peasantry, the majority of the population, was emancipated from feudal exploitation and oppression and their political zeal rose high.

With further solution of the rural question under contemplation, the agrarian reform had forbidden the sale, mortgage and renting of land, which dealt a blow at the capitalist elements in the countryside and restricted their growth. The agricultural and livestock farms, irrigation facilities and rural banking organizations owned by the Japanese invaders, landlords and comprador capitalists had been passed into the possession of the state and, on this basis, state agro-stock farms, irrigation centers and peasant banks set up as socialist economic elements in the countryside.

Moreover, the basic means of production, including the factories and other enterprises, railways, communications and banks owned by the Japanese aggressors and comprador capitalists, had been made the property of the state through the nationalization of major industries, which had been enforced as part of the anti-imperialist, democratic revolution. This enabled the socialist economic sector to play the leading role in the national economy.

The expropriation of the capital of the foreign aggressors and comprador capitalists, the leading role of the state economic sector in the development of the national economy, the birth of socialist economic elements in the countryside, the blow dealt at the capitalist elements and the restrictions on their growth—all this meant that favourable conditions for agricultural cooperation were created during the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution.

Agricultural cooperation was an essential revolutionary task to be carried out at the stage of socialist revolution; it was a process governed by the law of socialist revolution. Its objective need had already arisen at the beginning of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism following the democratic revolution.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung had this to say:

"In our country, too, preparations for the agricultural cooperative movement had already been made step by step since the prewar period, and the movement became an immediate task

only when it figured as a vital demand in the life of the peasants" *(ibid.,* p. 287).

Although agricultural cooperation in our country was placed on the order of the day as an urgent task in the years following the war, as the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, its preparations had already been going on in the years before the war.

In the prewar period our Party thoroughly carried out the tasks of democratic revolution, consolidated its successes, and then steadily carried on the preparations for agricultural cooperation as it gradually stepped in the period of transition.

Upon entering the transition period, our Party set about the tasks of socialist revolution, continually strengthening the socialist elements in all fields of the national economy through the rapid development of socialist industry and expansion of state and cooperative trade in the sphere of commodity circulation, and controlling and restricting the growth of the capitalist elements through taxation and price policy.

At the same time, it promoted the economic ties between the socialist industry and the individual peasant economy so as to regulate the latter in a planned way, expanded the networks of state and consumers' cooperative trades in the countryside to increase commodity supply by means of socialist trade.

Our Party followed the class policy of controlling the growth of rich farmers through the consolidation of the successful agrarian reform and worked hard to build up a strong revolutionary force in the countryside.

As capitalism had not much developed in our countryside, the rich peasant economy was weak from the start. It was further weakened as it suffered a definite blow in the agrarian reform and as its growth was extremely restricted by the prohibition of the sale, mortgage and renting of land.

However, it was impossible to completely stop the process of class differentiation under the circumstances where the individual peasant economy prevailed in the countryside. Even some of the peasants who had been given land were becoming rich farmers.

The rich farmers exploited the poor peasants who were scanty of subsistence and means of farming; the rich farmers opposed socialist transformation in the countryside.

At this, the Party and the state helped the poor peasants with the loan of food, seed grain, chemical fertilizer and funds from the peasant banks for the purchase of draught animals

and farm implements. At the same time, they took every possible step to prevent the exploitation of the poor peasants; they checked the exploitative practices of the rich farmers and urban merchants by means of taxation, price policy and increased activities of the state and cooperative trades and banking organizations in the rural areas.

Holding the rich farmers in check on the one hand, and preparing a strong revolutionary force of working peasants on the other, our Party strove to expand the socialist economic elements in the countryside.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said: **"Also, by having already set up state agricultural and livestock farms and farm-machine hire stations before the war, our Party demonstrated to the peasants the advantages of mechanized and large-scale farming and carried out the preparatory work for leading them gradually along the socialist path"** *(ibid.,* p. 288).

Our Party established socialist agricultural enterprises such as state agro-stock farms, farm-machine hire stations and irrigation control offices already in the prewar years and steadily developed them in preparation for agricultural cooperation.

The state agro-stock farm in our country was born from the property of the state when this property was created by the agrarian reform through the expropriation of the property of the Japanese invaders, landlords and comprador capitalists. Since then, state agro-stock farms quickly increased in number thanks to the measures taken by the Party and the state.

From 1948 they were widely formed through state investments in keeping with the Party's policy on this undertaking. Especially in the wartime, many large livestock and agricultural farms were organized with the people who moved to rural districts.

Their number increased from 37 in the prewar year 1949 to 213 in 1953, the closing year of the war. For instance, large State Combined Farm No. 5 was set up in 1952 in the crucible of war, according to our Party's long-range policy for the socialist rural construction. It has now been equipped with modern technique, and all its work is done with the help of machines.

As large-scale specialized farms widely using modern technique and machinery, the state agro-stock farms demonstrated the advantages of socialist farming to the individual peasants

and splendidly performed a pioneer role in the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The state irrigation service in our country was opened with irrigation facilities which had come into the possession of the state after liberation. The large-scale Pyongnam irrigation and many other irrigation facilities were built with vast state investments from the prewar year 1948.

Even in the years of war the Party and the state saw to it that hosts of new reservoirs and pumping stations were built. As a result, the acreage under irrigation showed a 45 per cent growth between 1949 and 1953.

Farm-machine hire stations were set up in our country in 1950 before the war. Especially in the wartime the Party and the state greatly increased their number and organized many draught-animal hire stations as an important step to meet the shortage of manpower and draught animals in the countryside.

The number of farm-machine hire stations increased 3 times and that of tractors (in terms of 15 hp unit) over 3.3 times respectively during the 1950-53 period.

Both the state irrigation services and farm-machine hire stations played an important part as bases for the socialist transformation of agriculture. The farm-machine hire stations in particular showed the peasants the advantages of modern farm machinery and greatly helped them readily accept the socialist collective economy.

Thus establishing and expanding state enterprises in the service of agriculture, our Party strove to foster and develop such buds of collective labour as mutual-aid teams, sideline cooperatives and joint working parties in the areas near the front-line, which had sprouted among the peasants in the wartime.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung remarked:

"...during the war, our Party concentrated its main efforts on rural work, expanded state farming to a considerable extent and, at the same time, widely popularized and developed among the peasants such cooperative forms of labour as the oxen-sharing and labour-exchange teams, which had a long tradition in our country, with a view to overcoming the acute shortage of manpower, draught animals and farm implements in the rural districts. This further promoted the spirit of mutual assistance among our peasants and their desire for co-operative farming" *(ibid.,* p. 288).

Such cooperative forms of farm work as sharing oxen and

lending hands on reciprocal basis had been a tradition that flourished in our countryside for a long time. During the war, in view of the devastation of agriculture and the shortage of manpower and draught animals caused by the barbarities of the US imperialist aggressors, the Party and state zealously guided and helped the peasants cooperate with one another on an extensive scale by sharing oxen and lending hands on the principle of mutual aid. Such a widespread organization of mutual-aid teams helped overcome the shortage of manpower and draught animals in the war-ravaged countryside and also served as preparations for the socialist transformation of our agriculture.

Conceiving a far-reaching plan for the postwar building of socialism even in the days of the fierce war, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung strongly called for widely organizing oxen-sharing and labour-exchange teams at the national meetings of model peasants held in 1952 and 1953. He personally went out to farm villages, acquainted himself with wartime farming conditions and encouraged the peasants to farm by organizing mutual-aid teams.

In May 1952, in the height of war, the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung visited Wonhwa-ri, Sunan County, South Pyongan Province (then Wonhwa-ri, Tongam Sub-county, Taedong County of the same province). Personally helping the peasants in the fields, he explained them that since they were short of male hands, they should not take pains doing farm work individually but that many households should work collectively so that they might farm easier and rationally use draught animals and farm implements, though insufficient. He urged them to form many more teams in which they shared oxen and lent hands each other so that they might help each other and work cheerfully. He told them that that was also much desirable for future agricultural cooperation.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung thus brought home to them the significance of the collective mutual-aid team and stressed that agricultural cooperation was the only way to a radical improvement of the living standards of the peasants. He even suggested the specific idea that they should start with mutual-aid teams of some 30 households each rather than making them too large and admit only volunteers at the preliminary stage.

In February 1953, the Cabinet adopted a decision on organizing oxen-sharing and labour-exchange teams, as a step

to improve the economic conditions of the poor peasants. As a result, a large number of such mutual-aid teams were formed in all rural districts. Along with seasonal, temporary mutual-aid teams, there gradually appeared many permanent ones that operated all the year round. The Party and state actively encouraged the permanent mutual-aid teams born among the peasants and energetically helped them consolidate their economic foundations by granting them loans of food and seed grains and funds for draught animals, farm implements, fertilizer and agricultural chemicals.

The permanent mutual-aid teams created common property step by step and thus laid their material foundations for the operation of the collective economy. They set up the rules and standards of internal activities and ran the major part of their yearly farm work on the basis of division of labour and cooperation under a definite plan.

The traditional oxen-sharing and labour-exchange teams in our countryside had been no more than temporary mutual-aid teams for seasonal farm work. But the permanent mutual-aid teams which were widely organized in the rural areas during the war were an embryo of socialism that sprouted from new socio-economic grounds.

With the active guidance and assistance of the Party and the government, they not only played a great role in ensuring the farm work in hand, but served as a new shoot, as an honourable pioneer in leading the peasants to socialist collectivization.

Another bud of cooperative farming that emerged in the wartime along with permanent mutual-aid teams was rural sideline cooperatives. They were activated in rural districts geographically favourable for fishing or raising animals as a collective sideline in addition to joint farming.

The distinction between the permanent mutual-aid team and the rural sideline cooperative was that the former did farming with joint efforts at first and then developed step by step into a collective economy, whereas the latter established joint funds only for a collective sideline, while farming jointly in the form of labour exchange, and then gradually turned farming, too, into a collective economy. Later, the rural sideline cooperatives gradually developed into agro-stock or agro-fishery cooperatives.

In February 1952, measures were taken to organize rural sideline cooperatives, as a step to improve the economic conditions of the poor peasants and impoverished fishermen whose

number swelled during the war. The state gave them a powerful material and financial assistance, providing them with breed animals, fishing boats and tackles. As a result, many rural sideline cooperatives were formed in the countryside.

The rural sideline cooperatives developed stockbreeding, fishing and other sidelines into a collective economy, making good use of natural conditions—mountains, seas, pasture lands, lakes and the like. In this course, they built up joint funds, acquired means of production for collective use and thus became able to gradually turn all domains of their agricultural production into a collective economy.

As of July 1953, immediately after the armistice, when agricultural cooperation was started, there were 174 agricultural cooperatives altogether in our country, of which 72 were rural sideline cooperatives. Thus, the rural sideline cooperatives played a big part in starting and developing the movement for the socialist cooperation of the individual peasant economy.

Still another embryo of the cooperative farming in our country was the joint frontline working parties which were formed in 1951 and the following war years. They were organized chiefly with the young and middle-aged people in the rural areas near the frontline in Kangwon Province. They were special organizations whose members aided the front or directly participated in battles arms in hand, while engaging in joint farming.

These organizations came into being when those young and middle-aged people in the farm villages who had had guerrilla actions undertook the struggle to increase wartime grain production, upholding the Party's slogan, "Don't let an inch of land lie idle!" while at the same time aiding the front arms in hand.

They pooled their lands, made common property of the draught animals, farm implements and other means of production and introduced distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done.

This highly advanced form of collective economy adopted by the joint frontline working parties was attributable to the fact that they were a special form of organizations designed both for productive activities and support for the front, whose members had to lead a collective life with all their families evacuated to the rear.

Though formed under abnormal circumstances, this type of collective economy, too, proved of great significance in

launching and developing the agricultural cooperative movement in our country.

Eighty of the 174 agricultural cooperatives that existed at the start of agricultural cooperation immediately following the armistice were located in Kangwon Province. This was due to the fact that the joint frontline working parties in this province had been reorganized into agricultural cooperatives. This explains their great role in the birth and development of the socialist cooperative economy in our country.

Our Party zealously fostered the buds of the socialist cooperative economy—the collective mutual-aid teams, rural sideline cooperatives and joint frontline working parties which had emerged in our countryside during the wartime. It used them as valuable assets for a vigorous agricultural cooperative movement in the postwar years.

The rapid development of socialist industry, the growth of socialist economic elements in rural districts, particularly the birth of an elementary form of socialist agricultural cooperative economy and the check to the growth of the rich peasant economy—all this provided an important guarantee for the creation of the socio-economic conditions and strong revolutionary forces for agricultural cooperation in our country.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION—AN URGENT TASK IN OUR COUNTRY AFTER THE WAR

Agricultural cooperation in our country presented itself as a revolutionary task at the beginning of the socialist revolution that followed the democratic revolution in the prewar years. But it was not until the end of the war that the fulfilment of this task became urgent.

Agricultural cooperation is a demand of the law for the development of the socialist revolution. In our country, however, it was not put on the order of the day as an urgent task at the initial stage of socialist revolution until ample and purposeful preparations had been made by our Party and immediate action was required for its solution.

The agrarian reform had realized the cherished desire for land of the peasants who underwent exploitation and oppression under the feudal land ownership.

Under the circumstances where the peasants still had a strong sense of private ownership of the distributed land, it was premature to bring forward as an urgent question the matter of agricultural cooperation, the task of the socialist revolution to turn the private landownership of the peasants into a collective one, simply because the revolution was proceeding, as a whole, from the democratic to socialist stage. What was most important in raising agricultural cooperation as a matured revolutionary task was the peasants' ideological readiness to accept the collective economy which was to incorporate their private landed property.

In order to prepare the peasants for agricultural cooperation, an effective political education must be given to them on the new social system, and at the same time, tireless efforts made to foster and develop the socialist economic elements in town and country through the control and restriction of the growth of the capitalist elements, to build up strong rural revolutionary forces.

As mentioned above, our Party strenuously prepared for agricultural cooperation from the initial period of transition that started in prewar days. Even during the difficult years of war provoked by the US imperialist aggressors, it continued with this preparation. In the countryside, however, a new situation was created—the rural economy was ravaged and the peasants greatly impoverished by the brutal atrocities of the US imperialist aggressors.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The only way to surmount all the difficulties confronting our country's agriculture in the postwar period lay in the cooperativization of individual peasant economy. Only through the socialist transformation of agriculture could the rapid restoration and further development of the devastated productive forces in agriculture be guaranteed and, accordingly, the proportionate development of industry and agriculture be made possible. Only on the basis of socialist cooperative farming could the peasants' ruined livelihood be rapidly stabilized and then their standard of living be radically improved" *(ibid.,* p. 287).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, the reality of our countryside in the postwar period presented agricultural cooperation as an urgent task. If the individual peasant economy had been left as it was when agriculture was suffering from heavy war wounds, it would have been impossible quickly to restore the productive force of agriculture, improve

the peasants' livelihood and, particularly, solve the problem of the poor peasants whose number swelled during the war and the acute food problem in the postwar period.

What with devastation in the rural economy, the serious shortage of manpower and draught animals in the countryside and their destitution caused by the war, the peasants could hardly farm unless they pool draught animals, farm implements and other means of production and help each other in their work.

Stabilizing the living conditions of the many war-impoverished small peasants was a serious question in the postwar period. They accounted for as much as 40 per cent of our rural population when the war was over. They found it impossible to farm by themselves; they were so hard up that it was even doubtful that they could quickly recover if they were given material aid by the Party and the Goverment. This postwar situation impelled them to give up their individual farming and turn to collective economy.

Another reason for the urgency of the matter of agricultural cooperation at that time was that the socialist reorganization of the individual peasant economy was the only way to rehabilitate and develop the agricultural productive force rapidly and ensure the proportionate development of industry and agriculture.

A quick recovery and growth of the productive force of war-devastated agriculture could hardly be expected so long as the individual peasant economy existed unaltered.

The serious damage done to agricultural productive force entailed decrease in grain production and strain on the food situation in our country in the postwar years. Failure of agriculture to meet the industrial demand for food and raw materials might cause imbalance between agriculture and industry which was quickly recovering and developing along socialist lines.

To ensure the proportionate development of industry and agriculture was essential for a rapid recovery and growth of the national economy as a whole in the postwar period.

By nature, the industry of socialist ownership and the individual peasant economy based on private ownership contradicted each other, forming mutually different economic foundations. This contradiction was resultant from the nationalization of major industries which made socialist ownership prevail in industry and from the agrarian reform which made the individual peasant economy dominant in agriculture. This posed no problem in the period when the tasks of the democratic revolution were carried out and the results were consolidated and

developed, a period which was marked with great political enthusiasm and productive zeal of the peasants stimulated by the agrarian reform. But the contradiction threatened the danger of creating imbalance between industry and agriculture when the revolution went over from the democratic to the socialist stage, when agriculture based on the individual peasant economy was lagging behind the fast developing socialist industry.

The possible danger of imbalance between the fast recovering and growing industry and very slowly recovering agriculture might lead to a serious problem involving a great impediment to the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy as a whole, to say nothing of industrial progress.

What was essential in ensuring balance between industry and agriculture in the postwar period was to satisfy the growing demands for food and industrial raw materials.

The food problem demanded the most urgent and priority solution not only for the sake of balance between industry and agriculture but also for the rehabilitation and development of the national economy as a whole and the stabilization and improvement of the people's livelihood in the postwar years.

The urgency of agricultural cooperation in our country in those years was also related with the pressing need to consolidate the rural positions and further strengthen the worker-peasant alliance.

Firmly building up the revolutionary force in our countryside and further strengthening the worker-peasant alliance in that period carried a weighty significance in fortifying the revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic and promoting the Korean revolution and the country's reunification on a nationwide scale.

In the early postwar period, the rural population represented the overwhelming majority in our country which had been a backward agricultural state; most of them were individual peasants who had suffered severe war damages.

If nothing had been done for these impoverished individual peasants, it would have been impossible to consolidate the rural positions and fortify the revolutionary base in the northern hali of the Republic.

Of particular importance in consolidating the rural positions in the postwar period was to solve the problem of the impoverished small peasants—a serious question that cropped up with regard to the individual peasant economy severely destroy-

ed by the indiscriminate bombings and barbarities of the US imperialist aggressors, a problem that should be quickly solved in order to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and firmly build up the rural positions.

Solving the question of those impoverished small holders whose number increased in the war, fortifying the rural positions and strengthening the worker-peasant alliance—these were matters of most pressing urgency in the postwar period for the consolidation of the revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic and for a vigorous acceleration of the revolution to win the cause of independent, peaceful national reunification and the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution.

These were the factors that contributed to making agricultural cooperation imperative in the years after the war.

Meanwhile, the conditions were ripe for this undertaking in our country at that time; the balance of class forces in our countryside was in favour of agricultural cooperation. The rich peasants became very weak because of the war damage to their economic foundations, whereas the working peasants were further awakened politically through their actual revolutionary struggle and, especially, the ordeals of the fierce war.

The originally feeble rich peasant economy in our country had been hit by the agrarian reform. When it was still weak under control and restriction in the following years, it was again hard hit by the war and reduced to negligible force in the postwar period.

The weakening of the rich peasants, a force opposed to cooperation, meant a very favourable condition for agricultural cooperation after the war.

Neglect of such an advantageous condition and the right time for agricultural cooperation would have permitted the force of the rich peasants to revive in the countryside and, accordingly, agricultural cooperation would have undergone twists and turns.

In contrast to the weakening of the rich peasants, the revolutionary force of the working peasants grew incomparably stronger in the postwar period. Even in the difficult wartime conditions, the Party and the state rapidly increased the socialist economic elements such as state agro-stock farms, irrigation control offices and farm-machine hire stations. Especially, the buds of the cooperative form of economy that began to sprout among the peasants during the war enabled them to taste the socialist collective economy. The farm-machine hire stations

which speedily grew in number in the wartime proved a great help in leading the individual peasant economy to cooperation in the postwar years.

The capitalist and small commodity production sectors in town also had been weakened in the war along with the rich peasant economy in the countryside. Thus, the capitalist elements became negligible in our nation's economy as a whole. This provided a favourable condition not only for the gradual transformation of the urban trade and manufacture but also for the cooperation of agriculture in the postwar period.

All this signified that the Party and the state now had the actual conditions for leading the peasants along the socialist path by firmly establishing the leadership position of the working class over the peasantry and giving them effective guidance and assistance.

Our Party evaluated the right time for agricultural cooperation and made sure that a vigorous cooperative movement was promptly launched.

2. THE POLICY AND PRINCIPLES OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION LAID DOWN BY THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY LEADER COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

When agricultural cooperation became an urgent task in our country and our Party put forward the policy for it, our industry was at the stage of postwar rehabilitation and construction and was not yet ready for an all-out industrialization. Industrial foundations were not strong enough to cope with the technological transformation of agriculture.

It had been generally thought until then that agricultural cooperation could only be undertaken after industrialization. Hence, some people, infected with dogmatism, were doubtful about the Party's policy of agricultural cooperation and came out against it. They alleged that a developed industry was indispensable for the cooperation of the individual peasant economy and so such cooperation was impossible without machines.

Others argued if it was advisable to make the socialist revolution in the northern half alone when the country was still divided and the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution was not carried out on a nationwide scale. They contended that if the private ownership was abolished and turned into collective ownership through the cooperation of the individual peasant economy in the northern half, in disregard of the north-south division, many peasants in the southern half, the rich peasants in particular, would go against us.

Still others opposed the Party's policy on cooperation saying that it was premature; they asked how we could undertake it when agricultural cooperative movement was not launched on a full scale in other countries.

It was impossible to successfully carry out the tasks of the socialist revolution without smashing all these unwarranted views that the foundation of industrialization was indispensable for cooperation and that the Party's policy of cooperation was premature because the country still remained divided into the

north and the south and the agricultural cooperative movement was not in full swing in other countries. This was a most difficult and complex question and most important political problem encountered by our Party in developing the socialist revolution in our country.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great Marxist-Leninist, set forth an original policy and principles of agricultural cooperation in our country by applying the great Juche idea.

THE ORIGINAL POLICY OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION WORKED OUT BY THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY LEADER COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

Basing himself on a scientific analysis of the new historical conditions and specific situation in our country, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung advanced an original policy of transforming the economic sectors in agriculture along socialist lines prior to its technological renovation.

Agricultural cooperation is a revolutionary change in which a working-class party in power eliminates the old relations of production and establishes new, socialist ones by firmly relying on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is a very difficult question for a working-class party to form a correct judgment of the necessary conditions in bringing about such a complex revolutionary change as leading millions of working peasants in the countryside to socialism.

Until agricultural cooperation became an urgent demand in our country in the postwar period, quite a few people had considered that technological foundations were a universal requirement for agricultural cooperation.

If this concept had been accepted, agricultural cooperation would have been impossible in our country in the postwar years when foundations of modern industry were not yet laid and a very backward primitive technique prevailed in agriculture.

Scientifically analysing the new historical conditions and specific situation in our country and applying the great Juche idea, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung evolved an original thought and theory on the possibility of the socialist transformation of the relations of production prior to

industrialization, and thus opened up a new path for agricultural cooperation.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out:

"...socialist transformation could not be held back when life itself demanded an immediate reorganization of the outdated relations of production and there were revolutionary forces prepared to carry it out. This was true even though the level of the development of the productive forces and of technology was relatively low" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. III, p. 71).

In this classical proposition, with a view to effecting the socialist transformation of the relations of production under the changed historical conditions, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung scientifically clarified the need to take into account the urgent demand of life for the change and the revolutionary forces prepared to undertake it, rather than simply reckon with the productive forces and the level of technological development as before.

Agricultural cooperation is a revolutionary change in which a ruling working-class party replaces the old relations of production with new socialist ones by correctly grasping and purposefully realizing the objective demand of the law that the relations of production are adapted to the nature of the productive forces.

The idea that the reorganization of the economic sectors for agricultural cooperation should be based on industrialization was derived from a general formula that the creation of a large-scale socialist cooperative economy presupposes up-to-date technical equipment.

Here, consideration is given only to the demand of the law of mutual adaptation between the productive forces and the relations of production on the premise that agricultural cooperation would be impossible without such a highly developed productive force as required for large-scale production using machinery, as was the case with some advanced countries where industrialization had been carried out at the stage of capitalism.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung elucidated an original idea that in agricultural cooperation the law of mutual adaptation between the productive forces and the relations of production does not always apply the same but quite otherwise in non-industrialized countries.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught that in most

of the non-industrialized countries which had taken over backward productive forces from the old society, agriculture should be cooperated if the life of the peasants itself urgently demanded cooperative economy, even though it was based on primitive technique and that in this case the new-born socialist cooperative economy would rapidly develop production, promoting the positive reaction of the relations of production upon the development of the productive forces.

Under the circumstances where their individual economy was devastated by the war and its limitations became evident, the peasants in our country found themselves impossible to go on farming unless something was done; it became their vital demand to reorganize their individual economy along socialist lines.

This meant that without replacing the old relations of production with new socialist ones, it was impossible to free the productive forces from the fetters of the old production relations and increase agricultural production any more.

It also showed that modern machinery and technology were not always indispensable for the reform of the relations of production and that the transformation of the outdated production relations into socialist ones even in reliance upon the backward primitive technology could meet the demand of the development of the correlation between the productive forces and production relations.

A collective labour of simple form based on primitive technology is enough to increase labour productivity several times over the individual labour of the private peasant economy.

Our experience proved that even with primitive technique the cooperative economy could develop the productive forces at an incomparably higher tempo than the individual peasant economy if the form and scale of collective labour were correctly defined to suit the levels of technical equipment and the peasants' ideology and their political enthusiasm was given full play.

Having examined all these factors with scientific approach, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung threw a fresh light upon the decisive conditions for agricultural cooperation.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The decisive condition for agricultural cooperativization lies not in whether agriculture is equipped with modern technology but in whether this cooperativization is a vital demand of the peasants themselves, whether the revolutionary forces are

prepared to carry it out" *(Let Us Further Strengthen the Socialist System of Our Country,* Eng. ed., p. 7).

In this teaching, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung gave a classical definition of the decisive factor for agricultural cooperation.

The decisive factor for agricultural cooperation lies not in modern technology available to agriculture but in the vital demand of the peasants themselves for agricultural cooperation. This is explained by the fact that the socialist transformation of the individual peasant economy is a revolutionary change in which a working-class party in power purposefully replaces the outdated relations of production with new ones to meet the demand of the law of the adaptation of the relations of production to the nature of the productive forces, a law the party has grasped, and that in the light of class relationship, it is a class struggle between the counterrevolutionary force trying to retain the old relations of production and the revolutionary force striving to create new ones. From this it follows that although the socialist transformation of the individual peasant economy represents the demand of the law governing the development of the productive forces, the factors for its realization depend on the balance of class forces. Along with the balance of class forces, technology also constitutes one of the factors for the socialist transformation of the individual peasant economy. But, the decisive one is the balance of class forces, not technology.

The reason is that though the development of the productive forces necessitates the new relations of production in place of the old ones and even if there exist some necessary technical conditions, the replacement of the relations of production, which involves the overthrow of the exploiting system, depends upon the balance of the class forces who are opposed to each other in their interests.

The socialist transformation of the individual peasant economy is a class struggle in which a working-class party in power sweeps away all relations of exploitation in the countryside by firmly building up the revolutionary forces, relying on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The balance of class forces in the countryside, therefore, was the main concern of our Party in reorganizing the individual peasant economy along socialist lines.

In carrying out the agrarian reform, our Party maintained a firm class stand, anticipating agricultural cooperation. Following the reform, it made every effort to increase the revolution-

ary forces in the countryside; it implemented the class and mass lines in proper combination to win over the peasant masses firmly to the side of the revolution, strengthening the worker-peasant alliance and the rural positions.

At the same time, from the initial period of transition from capitalism to socialism, our Party strove in every way to create the balance of class forces in favour of agricultural cooperation, restricting the capitalist elements, increasing the socialist state sector of the economy and encouraging the collective labour of the peasants.

The peasant masses were tempered in a revolutionary way in the protracted revolutionary struggle and the fierce war and their revolutionary zeal rose very high, whereas the rich peasant economy was severely destroyed and its strength extremely waned in the war.

Thus, the revolutionary forces were prepared to undertake agricultural cooperation in our countryside after the war, and the general situation of developing revolution and the life of the peasants strongly demanded cooperation.

The situation was ripe and our Party lost no time in launching the cooperative movement on a full scale.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said: **"Correct timing is very important in any revolution. This applies to the cooperative movement, too. If you start it too early or too late instead of seizing the right time, you may face many difficulties"** (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. V, p. 346).

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung explained that in working out strategy and tactics and organizing and leading the revolutionary struggle it was very important for a working-class party to wage a decisive struggle without missing the right time and that a sure guarantee for victory in carrying out such complex and difficult revolutionary tasks as an agricultural cooperative movement was to seize the right time.

The leader made it clear that the right time for an agricultural cooperative movement meant a time when agricultural cooperation became an urgent demand of the peasants and the revolutionary forces were prepared to carry it out even if there were no ample technical conditions and that the agricultural cooperative movement could be carried to success only when it was dynamically waged without losing the right time.

If the ripe opportunity is missed and the individual peasant economy is left as it is for a long time until industrialization is

realized, the revolution may have to go through twists and turns and suffer a great loss.

Industrialization is a very difficult task and it needs a long period of time to accomplish it. So, if the individual peasant economy is allowed to exist all that time, it will only lead to tip the balance of class forces to the disadvantage of cooperation in the countryside.

The individual peasant economy forms an economic basis which spontaneously and ceaselessly gives birth to capitalist elements hour by hour.

Therefore, if the individual peasant economy had been allowed to remain long, class differentiation would have been unavoidable and capitalist elements increased in the countryside, to the disadvantage of agricultural cooperation, no matter what measures were taken to control and restrict the rich peasant economy.

If the individual peasant economy had not been cooperated but left alone for a long time, it would also have been a great hindrance to the nation's economic development as a whole.

If the individual peasant economy had not been reorganized along socialist lines to free the agricultural productive forces quickly from the fetters of the old relations of production, agriculture would not have been able to keep up with industry, disproportion would have occurred between the two, to the great detriment of industrial production and the progress of the national economy as a whole.

That would have slackened the tempo of the growth of the socialist industry, helped the growth of the capitalist, rich peasant economy in the countryside and hampered the overall development of the national economy and the smooth and straight progress of the revolution.

Therefore, the socialist reorganization of the individual peasant economy should not be delayed until industrialization is realized but should be carried out prior to industrialization if the peasants themselves urgently demand it and the revolutionary forces are prepared to undertake it. Only then can the socialist revolution and construction as a whole be promoted.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Our Party's policy intended to assure the rapid advance of the productive forces and, in particular, to open up a broad avenue for the technical revolution by transforming, first of all, the relations of production along socialist lines according to the urgent needs of social development, instead of waiting

for the day when industry could develop to such an extent as to carry out the technical reconstruction of the national economy" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. III, pp. 71-72).

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's new outstanding thought and theory on reorganizing economic sectors prior to technical transformation are a great thinking and scientific theory which clearly indicate the way to the socialist revolution and construction in those countries with no industrial basis.

To determine priority between the technical transformation and the reorganization of economic sectors in agricultural cooperation is a highly important problem affecting the establishment of relationship between the productive forces and the relations of production in those countries which enter the stage of the socialist revolution before realizing industrialization.

This is quite a serious question as to whether to allow the individual peasant economy to exist in the countryside until the technical reform of agriculture is made on the basis of industrialization or to establish the socialist production relations by transforming economic sectors prior to technical transformation and then effect industrialization, taking advantage of the superior production relations. It is also one of the fundamental questions related to the socialist revolution and construction in once backward, agrarian countries.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung gave a classical definition that if agricultural cooperation becomes a vital demand of the peasants and the revolutionary forces are ready, it should be carried out without delay, the socialist relations of production established and, on this basis, the productive forces rapidly increased and, in particular, the technical revolution dynamically pushed forward.

This was a revolutionary policy which guaranteed the complete dominance of socialist relations of production through the socialist transformation of production relations prior to technical reconstruction, inspired the working people with great political enthusiasm by firmly relying on the superiority of the socialist system, and accelerated the technical transformation by enlisting the heightened revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad working masses.

This most correct and original policy also enables those countries where the peasants are rather highly awakened politically through long revolutionary struggles, despite the backward productive forces carried over from the old society, to push

forward the revolution and construction along the straight, smooth road by enlisting the revolutionary zeal of the working people.

This original policy of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung provides the guideline to the general course of agricultural cooperation under the new historical circumstances of today when great force of world revolution have emerged in those countries which have not gone through the normal stage of capitalist development and carried over backward productive forces.

The existing Marxist-Leninist proposition on giving priority to industrialization over agricultural cooperation presupposed the revolution in some advanced countries which had covered the normal course of capitalist development. It does not reflect the law governing the process of revolutionary development in many countries which have now set out on the road of the socialist revolution, without industrial basis.

If agricultural cooperation were to be preceded by industrialization, these countries would have to retain the individual peasant economy for a long time in their countrysides even after they entered the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. This would create quite unfavourable conditions in the whole course of revolution.

The correct solution of this question, therefore, is a serious matter deciding the fate of the revolution in those many countries which have embarked on the socialist revolution before industrialization.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung gave a classical, scientific answer to the problem of the relationship between the productive forces and the relations of production, between industrialization and agricultural cooperation in particular, in those countries which have started the socialist revolution when the level of their productive forces is still low.

Basing himself on his profound and scientific analysis of the specific realities of our country and free from any existing formula or experience, the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung put forward a completely new theory of agricultural cooperation, a theory of the reorganization of economic sectors before technical transformation.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's original idea of reorganizing economic sectors before technical transformation is an embodiment of his great Juche idea. It indicated a new path to agricultural cooperation, fully meeting

the urgent demand of the new historical conditions of the developing world revolution, and thus advanced and enriched the immortal Marxist-Leninist theory of agricultural cooperation.

This idea and theory of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung smashed all the counterrevolutionary manoeuvres of those who had slandered our Party's policy of agricultural cooperation, alleging that it was impossible without industrialization, and guaranteed the great victory of our agricultural cooperative movement.

This great idea and theory of the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung became the cornerstone of our Party's policy of agricultural cooperation. They are of great significance in the agricultural cooperative movement of the revolutionary parties and peoples struggling for socialism.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung provided the most important guarantee for the victory of the Korean revolution by advancing the wise policy of carrying out agricultural cooperation in the northern half so that our revolutionary base could be firmly built up politically and economically under the situation where the country was yet to be reunified and the tasks of the democratic revolution still remained for completion on a nationwide scale.

When our Party put forward the policy of agricultural cooperation some people brought forward the argument of "prematurity", preaching against agricultural cooperation prior to national reunification and technical transformation. That was an argument prompted by a mistaken view that a socialist reform like agricultural cooperation in the northern half of the Republic would be detrimental to the carrying out of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution in the southern half and to the uniting of the broad democratic revolutionary forces there.

Emphasizing that agricultural cooperation was an urgent demand of social development in the northern half of the Republic and the Korean revolution, the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"There is no reason whatsoever for north Korea to wait about because south Korea has not been liberated yet and the democratic revolution has not yet triumphed there. The socialist revolution and the building of socialism in the northern half of the Republic were raised not only as an irresistible demand of social development in the northern half, but also as a vital demand of the Korean revolution to politically and economically

consolidate the democratic base in the northern half. The most important guarantee for the victory of the Korean revolution is to eliminate capitalist elements, totally eradicate the foothold of counter-revolution and build firm bastions of socialism in urban and rural areas in the northern half" (*ibid.*, p. 72).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, the socialist transformation of agriculture in the northern half of the Republic designed to eliminate all kinds of exploitation in toto, eradicate the foothold of counterrevolution and build firm bastions of socialism in rural areas would be conducive to further strengthening our revolutionary base politically and economically. It afforded an important guarantee for the victory of the Korean revolution.

A key problem in the struggle for national reunification is to consolidate the revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic like an iron wall. What is of particular importance here is to firmly establish the socialist system in the countryside and further strengthen the worker-peasant alliance.

It is the revolutionary forces in the northern half of the Republic which play a most decisive role in achieving the country's reunification. In turning the northern half of the Republic into a solid revolutionary base it is especially important to firmly establish the socialist system in the countryside and consolidate the rural stronghold.

Agricultural cooperation in the northern half of the Republic would, first of all, meet the demand of the law of the socio-economic development in the northern half of the Republic and thus help hasten the process of the Korean revolution on a national scale.

Agricultural cooperation reflected a natural process of the socialist revolution and an irresistible, objective demand of the socio-economic development in the northern half. The immediate task in the southern half of the Republic under the colonial rule of the US imperialist aggressors and their lackeys was to carry out the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution and, accordingly, the Korean revolution was at the stage of the democratic revolution on a nationwide scale.

Nevertheless, it was not justifiable to apply brakes on the process governed by the law of social development in the northern half of the Republic .

Under the wise guidance of the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung the northern half of the Republic established the people's power by uniting the advanced working class

and broad patriotic, democratic forces with the Communists as the core, and, on this basis, successfully carried out the tasks of the democratic revolution; and the tasks of the socialist revolution gradually came to the fore.

To follow up the victory in the democratic reforms with a thoroughgoing socialist revolution was the natural course of the social development in the northern half of the Republic; it could expedite the general progress of the Korean revolution by building up the revolutionary base on socialist foundations.

Agricultural cooperation was the demand of the law of social development in the northern half of the Republic; it would strengthen the revolutionary base politically and economically in that the socialist transformation of the individual peasant economy would eliminate exploitation and oppression in the countryside once and for all, do away with the rich peasants and other capitalist elements as well as those which were vulnerable to their influence, provide all the peasants with happy lives under the socialist agricultural system, and further strengthen the worker-peasant alliance on the socialist basis so that the rural position could be built up as firm as a rock.

Agricultural cooperation would also help prevent reactionary bourgeois ideology from poisoning our rural areas, smash the aggressive ideological offensive of US imperialism and establish the socialist system in the northern half of the Republic, so that the socio-political system in the northern half could be indestructibly fortified and the politico-ideological unity of the entire people decisively strengthened.

Thus, the promotion of the revolution and construction and creation of a strong revolutionary base in the northern half of the Republic, the base of the Korean revolution, was an important guarantee for the early accomplishment of the Korean revolution on a nationwide scale.

Agricultural cooperation in the northern half of the Republic, a process required by the law of social development, would not only consolidate the revolutionary base there but also offer a sure guarantee for the promotion of the revolution in the south by powerfully inspiring and encouraging the peasants in the south in their revolutionary struggle.

Wise was the policy of transforming the individual peasant economy in the northern half of the Republic along socialist lines to free millions of the peasants, who accounted for more than half of the population, from exploitation and oppression

for good and radically improve their living standards, because it would give the peasants and other people in the southern half confidence in victory and strong encouragement so that they could turn out valiantly in the revolutionary struggle, and thus accelerate the ultimate victory of the Korean revolution.

In particular, in cooperativizing agriculture our Party adopted the policy of remoulding the rich peasants, the exploiting class in the countryside, into socialist working people according to their free will, instead of eliminating them, so that they might lead a bountiful and cultured life like other people. This policy was of great significance in carrying out the Party's strategic and tactical policy for uniting the broad patriotic, democratic forces in the southern half to increase the revolutionary forces and thoroughly isolate the enemies of the revolution.

Our Party's policy of carrying out agricultural cooperation in the northern half of the Republic even when the country was not yet unified, a policy formulated by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, was a creative one based on the specific conditions of our country. It was the wisest policy which, far from hindering national reunification, provided an important guarantee for the nationwide victory of the Korean revolution by augmenting the revolutionary forces in the northern half and encouraging the revolutionary struggle of the peasants and other people in the southern half.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung urged that the tendency to dogmatism and flunkeyism—pursuance of foreign experience in agricultural cooperation blind to the realities of our country—should be totally eliminated and that the cooperative movement carried out from the standpoint of Juche in accordance with our specific conditions, and without vacillating in any storm and stress.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"...others questioned how we could carry out cooperativization when the agricultural cooperative movement was not yet in full swing in other countries" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. V, p. 346).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, when our Party put forward the policy of agricultural cooperation, there were some people who took a wrong attitude of looking up to only the experience of foreign countries, ignoring the urgent demands of our developing revolution.

This was the dogmatic view of the anti-Party factionalist elements who, infected with flunkeyism, tried to follow only the

experience of other countries, without studying the specific realities of our country and the objective law of the developing revolution from the steadfast stand of Juche.

It was also an expression of the anti-Party, counterrevolutionary view of the factionalists who, with the backing of foreign opportunists, slandered our Party's policy of agricultural cooperation, which was originated by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung by materializing the great Juche idea.

The establishment and implementation of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's original policy of agricultural cooperation in our country accompanied a fierce struggle against the class enemies and opportunists of all hues at home and abroad.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Foreign revisionists and great-power chauvinists and their followers—the anti-Party factionalists in our country—were also very critical of our Party's policy on agricultural cooperativization. They alleged that agricultural cooperativization was impossible in a situation in which socialist industrialization had not been carried out and modern farm machines were not available. They also alleged that the tempo of agricultural cooperativization was too fast in our country. They did not know anything about the specific realities of our country and did not bother to understand them either" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. IV, pp. 214-15).

The anti-Party factionalists who carped at our Party's policy of cooperation were, without exception, flunkeyists who followed foreign revisionists and fawned on great-power chauvinists, and were dogmatists who just clung to the existing formula of Marxism-Leninism and foreign experience.

They were ignorant of the specific realities of our country nor did they care to understand them. Sticking to the existing formula of Marxism-Leninism that cooperation is impossible if it is not based on industrialization and blindly following the experience of other countries, they cavilled at the Party's policy of cooperation, clamouring: "How can we undertake cooperation when we haven't yet machines and anything else?" "How can we carry out cooperation when the country is not yet reunified?" and "How can we do it when it hasn't yet been done in other countries?"

When our agricultural cooperation progressed apace, they criticized the policy of cooperation, arguing: "The tempo of cooperation should be slowed down a little because it is too fast."

Adhering to the stand of Juche, our Party thoroughly implemented the policy, exposing, denouncing and smashing the revisionist view of the anti-Party factionalists who tried to reject the Juche idea, the correctest Marxist-Leninist guiding idea underlying our Party's policy of cooperation.

Our Party repudiated the wrong, blind approach to an existing formula or a foreign experience and always based itself firmly on our specific realities. In the midst of the peasants it correctly acquainted itself with their vital demands. So it was able to formulate the most correct policy on agricultural cooperation which fully met the interests of the masses of the peasants.

Our Party's adherence to the stand of Juche, full consideration of the specific realities of our country and correct reflection of the vital demand of the masses of peasants through the implementation of the revolutionary mass line, brought its policy for agricultural cooperation to complete realization, not swayed by any wind from within and without.

Derived from the great Juche idea and underlined with the revolutionary mass line our Party's original policy of agricultural cooperation proved correct in ensuring the clearing of a new path to the socialist transformation of agriculture.

This path was beaten with confidence and without vacillation even in face of the evil manoeuvrings of the class enemies at home and abroad and in spite of the economic difficulties confronting the peasants and the nation as a whole; it was a historic victory won without twists and turns and in a short space of time.

THE CONSISTENT PRINCIPLES FOLLOWED BY OUR PARTY IN IMPLEMENTING THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION POLICY LAID DOWN BY THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY LEADER COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

Agricultural cooperation is one of the most difficult tasks in the socialist revolution.

Accurate implementation of the principles that should be followed at all times in carrying out a correct policy as well as

the correct formulation of the policy itself is greatly important in fulfilling the highly complicated and difficult revolutionary task of agricultural cooperation.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, having defined the correctest agricultural cooperation policy to suit our specific realities, worked out the principles to be consistently observed by our Party in carrying out the cooperative movement and consolidating and developing the organized cooperative economy.

He set it as a fundamental question to ensure an unshakable working-class leadership in the agricultural cooperative movement.

The leader stressed that only a consistent working-class leadership over this movement would provide correct solution to the questions of principle, which might crop up in bringing this movement to success.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said: **"Only by relying on the strong leadership of the Party and the working class and on the powerful support from socialist state-run industry were we able to overcome the innumerable difficulties of the postwar years, lead millions of peasants on to the path of socialist collectivization, and guarantee a solid victory for the socialist system of cooperative economy in our countryside"** (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. III, p. 64).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught, a powerful working-class leadership to the agricultural cooperative movement was essential to the correct solution of all the questions of principle in carrying that movement to success.

Agricultural cooperation is a revolutionary change in which the working class in power leads the peasants, the small commodity producers based on private ownership, to the socialist collective economy.

The agrarian reform was a violent struggle of the peasants waged against the landlords under the leadership of the working class to confiscate their landed estate. But in agricultural cooperation, the peasants, the small commodity producers, are remoulded into socialist working people under the guidance of the working class.

In the agrarian reform, the peasants were always active in the struggle against the landlords. But in agricultural cooperation the peasants are not always active, that is, from the start, because they themselves must be remoulded in this movement.

Even though they want to improve their unstable status as small commodity producers, they do not willingly break with

their private economy because of their class limitation. More, the peasants are small proprietors and their property is not exploitative by nature. So, it can never be an object of expropriation; it must be dealt strictly in accordance with their free will.

This shows that a steadfast working-class leadership for the agricultural cooperative movement and the powerful assistance of the socialist industry can only promote the political awakening of the peasants and lead them to join the cooperative economy of their own accord.

Our experience shows that success in the cooperative movement depends on the peasants' political consciousness and their voluntary will.

So, it is important to respect always the voluntary will of the peasants, and at the same time to increase their political awareness so that they may closely follow the leadership of the working class.

Agricultural cooperation is a socialist revolution led by the working-class party in power—a revolutionary task to discharge the historic mission of the working class.

Therefore, only through an unflagging class leadership over the peasantry and a powerful support of socialist industry can the working-class party heighten their political awareness steadily, induce them to follow the path of socialism, and thus develop the agricultural cooperative movement on sound basis.

A consistent working-class leadership is also indispensible to preventing all possible deviations in the agricultural cooperative movement, i.e., inconsistency in combatting capitalist elements, a petty-bourgeois impetuosity in the advance to socialism etc., and to leading the movement along the right track from a firm standpoint of revolution and principle.

If a consistent working-class leadership is not ensured for the cooperative movement, this movement will not be completely free from spontaneity, and the Party and the state will tail behind the peasants. Consequently, the working-class party and state will fail to steadfastly lead the peasants along the path of socialism and bring the cooperative movement to success.

In order to lead the peasants steadfastly along the path of socialism our Party helped them politically, ideologically, materially and technically in all spheres, raised the leading role of the working class and firmly maintained its class leadership.

Our Party could lead the cooperative movement straightly

along the path of socialism by maintaining its leadership over the peasants.

If the working-class leadership over the peasants is to be firmly maintained in the cooperative movement, it is imperative to steadily strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, the state power of the working class.

Only by consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, is it possible to awaken the toiling peasant masses politically and ideologically, unite them to become a strong revolutionary force and offer effective guidance and assistance to them and, at the same time, completely suppress the counterrevolutionary force opposed to cooperation.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung regarded it as a most important problem for the success of this movement to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and firmly maintain the leadership of the working class. Thus, he made it a point to properly solve all the questions of principle—the adherence to a voluntary principle, the formulation of a correct class policy, the strengthening of the state guidance and assistance, etc.

He stressed that the voluntary principle was a most important principle that should be consistently adhered to and strictly observed by a working-class party in implementing the policy of agricultural cooperation.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"In guiding the agricultural cooperative movement, our Party and the Government of the Republic strictly observed the voluntary principle.

"Our Party categorically rejected the coercive method in this movement and adopted a number of correct policies to induce the peasants to join the cooperative economy voluntarily" *(Let Us Further Strengthen the Socialist System of Our Country,* Eng. ed., p. 8).

As pointed out by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, one of the principles our Party invariably followed in guiding the agricultural cooperative movement was to strictly forbid coercive methods and educate and lead the peasants to join the cooperative economy voluntarily.

Adherence to the principle of voluntariness in agricultural cooperation means that the peasants are enlisted in the cooperative economy not by force but according to their voluntary will. But this does not mean that this movement can be left to the mercy of spontaneity. The voluntary principle is one of the

fundamental principles required by the intrinsic nature of the agricultural cooperative movement.

The peasantry, as working people with small property, are the most dependable ally of the working class. So it is impossible to expropriate them. They should be transformed along socialist lines according to their own free will, and only in this way.

Since cooperation is the only correct way to transform the individual peasants into socialist working people, the cooperative movement should be based on their voluntary will in any case.

If peasants are forced into the cooperative economy, their means of production amalgamated against their free will or a form of cooperative economy is imposed upon them not to their liking, in violation of the voluntary principle, simply because the agricultural cooperative economy is good, it will lead to dampening their political zeal for the cooperative movement and thus lay an obstacle in its way.

By carrying through the revolutionary mass line our Party was able to unite the peasants more closely and lead them along the path of socialism, inducing them to join the cooperative economy of their own accord and defending their interests with all consistency.

Strict adherence to the principle of voluntariness in agricultural cooperation does not mean that a working-class Party should leave this movement to the free will of the peasants and keep away from it.

The essence of the voluntary principle is to educate the peasants perseveringly and get them to act voluntarily with high political awareness. This does not mean that one is allowed to dictate one's will to the peasants whose ideological level is still low.

In order strictly to observe the voluntary principle, therefore, it is necessary to strengthen political education among the peasants, inspire their voluntary movement with political consciousness so that the movement may develop purposefully and on a sound basis.

In addition to the voluntary principle to be invariably followed by the working-class party in the cooperative movement, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung indicated an effective way to help the peasants quickly to join the cooperative economy of their own accord.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung stated:

"Object lessons in the cooperative movement are the most ideal way of persuading the peasants engaged in centuries-old individual farming to join cooperative farming voluntarily" (*ibid.*, p. 8).

In this teaching, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung gave weight to object lessons in encouraging the peasants to join the cooperative economy willingly.

An object lesson, as suggested by the leader, is a more effective method of education than explanation and persuasion. Even the latter can powerfully influence the peasants only through living examples.

So, an object lesson is the most effective way to get the peasants to join the cooperative economy voluntarily.

Our peasants who had been used to unstable lives, subsisting on their small commodity production, were very circumspect and conservative in every thing.

So they did not readily accept anything until they became convinced of its worth through life, not by listening to but by seeing it for themselves.

Life experience alone could free the peasants from the fetters of conservatism. Thus, the method of object lesson proved most effective in encouraging the peasants, in keeping with the inherent features in their life, to join cooperatives voluntarily.

Factual presentation of the superiority of the newly born cooperative economy was most essential to bringing forth their voluntary will. It was the key to the success of the cooperative movement.

The voluntary principle could be correctly observed only by bringing the advantages of the newly organized cooperative economy into full play and demonstrating them in practice to the peasants.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung raised the question of the leadership and assistance of the working-class party and state as a matter of principle in agricultural cooperation and took revolutionary steps to make them assist the cooperative economy in every way so that it could prove its superiority.

As we have seen, our Party consistently followed the principle of promoting the cooperative movement by ensuring the leadership of the working class, creatively applying the

principle of voluntariness, putting emphasis on giving object lessons under the effective guidance and assistance from the Party and the state, and combining them with explanation and persuasion. This new experience created by our Party greatly contributed to developing the Marxist-Leninist theory on co-operation.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung also set forth the class principle that the peasants of different strata be remoulded into socialist working people by firmly guaranteeing the leadership of the working class in implementing the policy of agricultural cooperation.

He suggested the creative idea that, under assured working-class leadership, the peasants of all strata including the rich peasants could be transformed along socialist lines by correctly implementing the class line and mass line in proper combination.

This is a great idea because it encourages the broad sections of the peasants to volunteer for the cooperative movement by improving the working class's role of leadership over all sections of peasants and increasing its revolutionary influence over them.

An unflagging working-class leadership and the formulation and thoroughgoing implementation of a correct class policy towards different sections of the peasantry prevented big turmoil and guaranteed a smooth progress of the agricultural cooperative movement which was attended with an acute class struggle.

Referring to the class policy of our Party for the agricultural cooperation the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"In drawing the peasants of various strata into the cooperative farming according to the voluntary principle, our Party followed the class policy of relying firmly on the poor peasants, strengthening the alliance with the middle peasants, and restricting and gradually remoulding the rich peasants" (*ibid.*, p. 9).

On the basis of the scientific analysis of the new historical background and specific conditions of our country, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung threw fresh light on the class policy that should be followed by a working-class party in agricultural cooperation.

Voluntary incorporation of peasants, an essential requirement of the agricultural cooperative movement, was one of

the fundamental principles consistently followed by our Party. But this did not mean that our peasants who had been used to individual farming over many centuries saw their future in agricultural cooperation and supported it, from the outset. The peasants of different strata varied in their economic status and politico-ideological preparedness and naturally took different attitudes.

Under the circumstances, our Party had to take different approaches towards them in drawing them into the cooperative farming on the voluntary principle.

Taking into due account the characteristics of those peasants of different status and their different attitudes towards agricultural cooperation our Party adopted appropriate tactical and strategic policies to suit them and made it a consistent principle to win them over and firmly unite them all.

Formerly the poor peasants in our country had had practically no land of their own and other means of production. It was the agrarian reform that made them masters of land. They became greatly awakened politically. They were the semi-proletariat, very similar in their status to the working class, and made up the overwhelming majority of the peasantry. Because of their economic status, they supported the cooperative farming and took an active part in the cooperative movement.

Hence, our Party adhered to the principle of firmly relying on the poor peasants and elevating their role as pivot so that they might influence the broad section of middle peasants in the cooperative movement.

By doing this, our Party maintained the principled stand of the working class and prevented possible Right deviation in the agricultural cooperative movement.

Our Party made sure that several cooperatives were first organized in each county, on an experimental basis, with the poor peasants who actively supported the agricultural cooperation from the start, and consolidated them before broader sections of the peasantry were incorporated. It also saw to it that the poor peasants became the pivot of each cooperative; it prevented organizing cooperatives exclusively with rich peasants and ensured that the cooperatives were run free from the influence of the rich peasants.

The middle peasants in our country were most typical of the section with dual character in that they were small proprietors and toiling peasants who farmed for themselves on their own land and with other means of production.

Some of them became middle peasants thanks to the agrarian reform after liberation and the rest were originally middle peasants. They all came under the same category of the middle peasantry but they took different attitudes towards cooperation; the former, though passive, supported the cooperative economy, whereas the latter wavered and took a "wait-and-see" attitude.

The inconsistent attitude towards cooperation of the middle peasants who accounted for much in our countryside required our Party to use great prudence in shaping its class policy towards them.

By defining a correct class policy for the middle peasants and implementing the class line and the mass line in proper combination to suit their class characteristics, our Party defended their interests and confidently led them along the path of socialism, while at the same time adhering to the principled stand of the working class.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Our Party strictly guarded against the tendency to force them into the cooperative economy or infringe on their interests and thus weaken our alliance with them. It got the middle peasants to join the cooperatives voluntarily by proving to them the advantages of the cooperative economy through competition between individual and cooperative economies" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. V, pp. 348-49).

Our Party's strict adherence to the mass line in formulating its policy towards the middle peasants was of particular significance.

The middle peasants, alongside the poor peasants, were the dependable ally of the working class and held a large proportion in the countryside. So, whether to win them over or not was an important matter affecting the success of cooperation.

If the middle peasants had been forced into cooperatives at the outset of agricultural cooperation which meant socialist revolution, because they were small holders with some land of their own and other means of production or if these means of production had been incorporated without compensation to impose upon them a completely socialist form of cooperatives where distribution was made according to the amount of work done, it would have been impossible to draw the broad sections of the peasants into the cooperative movement and firmly unite them around the Party.

Evidently, a sound development of the cooperative movement would have been hampered if the interests of the middle

peasants had been violated by emphasizing only the working-class stand and the socialist principle, blind to the fact that the masses of the peasants were not yet politically awakened enough to accept a completely socialist form of the cooperative economy.

Our Party made it a point to implement the mass line on the basis of firmly maintaining the stand of the working class, and thus bring the middle peasants under the powerful revolutionary influence of the working class so that the middle peasants themselves could see the superiority of socialism and support cooperation.

Nevertheless, what was important in this regard was to stick fast to the class line even in applying the mass line to the middle peasants. The cooperative movement was a class struggle to realize the historic mission of the working class, and the mass line whose implementation was to serve this purpose had to be firmly based on the class line.

If, for the sake of the middle peasants, such undesirable practices had been permitted as organizing cooperatives exclusively with well-to-do peasants, keeping production means out of corporation and hiring them out at a heavy charge or giving undue priority to distribution according to the amount of land and other means of production contributed, a wholesome growth of the cooperative movement would have been crippled beyond remedy.

By correctly implementing the class line in proper combination with the mass line towards the middle peasants, our Party was able strictly to abide by the voluntary principle, thoroughly overcome the Right and "Left" deviations in the cooperative movement and strengthen the alliance with the middle peasants to create a powerful force for the successful fulfilment of the historic task of agricultural cooperation.

Generally speaking, the rich peasants are the bourgeoisie in the countryside. They turn away from agricultural cooperation or stand against it. From their class instinct, they never support cooperation.

After making scientific analysis of the class nature of the rich peasants, the rural bourgeoisie, the difference in their forces in different countries as well as their influence, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung threw a new light on the policy to be followed by a working-class party towards the rich peasants in the agricultural cooperative movement.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Our Party also got the rich peasants to join the cooperatives of their own accord. In a certain country they eliminated the rich peasants through expropriation in the period of socialist revolution. However, taking into account the characteristics of our rich peasants and the fact that they had been almost ruined during the war, our Party adopted the policy of restricting and gradually remoulding them instead of eliminating them. Our Party drew into the cooperative economy all the rich peasants who accepted its cooperativization policy and were willing to join the cooperatives, and transformed them into socialist working people. But it applied strict sanctions against those who obstructed the cooperative movement" (*ibid.*, p. 350).

In this teaching, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung scientifically clarified the principle to be observed by a working-class party in drawing up its policy towards the rich peasants in the agricultural cooperative movement.

As was pointed out by the leader, whether to liquidate the rich peasants or to restrict and remould them gradually is decided by the characteristics of the rich peasants in each country and their attitude towards cooperation.

In guiding the cooperative movement our Party considered it an important matter of tactics to restrict and gradually remould the rich peasants, instead of eliminating them. It correctly settled the question and carried out agricultural cooperation smoothly and rapidly without a big turmoil.

Our Party's policy on remoulding and not liquidating the rich peasants was one adapted for the characteristics of the rich peasants who had been very weak from the start. At the time of the agrarian reform, they suffered a heavy blow and later their growth was seriously hampered under our Party's restrictive policy and, to top all this, the war inflicted serious damage upon them to weaken their economic foundation further still.

As a matter of fact, what they had in the postwar days was some land and exploitative ideas.

Taking all this into account, the leader set forth the policy of remoulding the rich peasants gradually, instead of eliminating them.

Following this policy, our Party saw to it that the rich peasants, too, were drawn into the cooperative economy according to their own free will and transformed into socialist working people.

The voluntary principle applied to the rich farmers was

quite different in nature from that applied to the middle peasants.

Incorporating the middle peasants on the voluntary principle meant protecting their interests as the ally of the poor peasants and leading them to come under the cooperative economy of their own accord. But it was out of the question to defend the interests of the rich farmers in applying the voluntary principle for them.

A working-class party can in no way protect the interests of the rich farmers, and our Party never thought of doing that.

The voluntary principle for the rich farmers meant just getting them to join the cooperative farming of their own accord, not by a coercive, administrative method.

The rich peasants, totally bankrupt and crippled economically in the war, even found no one to exploit at the last stage of the cooperative movement. Under the circumstances, they had no alternative but to accept the policy of cooperation and join the cooperative farming. When they persisted in their economic sector despite the situation and came out right against the Party's cooperation policy or resorted to subversion, they were inevitably to be repressed.

The voluntary incorporation of the rich farmers and the middle peasants also implied a great difference in the contents.

Unlike the middle peasants the rich farmers did not support the policy of cooperation from their hearts. Hence, our Party followed the principle of remoulding them gradually after admitting them into the cooperative economy as it was consolidated organizationally and economically. To this end, it held fast to its class position and strictly guarded against the Right tendencies to organizing cooperatives exclusively with the well-to-do farmers or fostering capitalist elements within cooperatives.

In this way, our Party settled the question of the rich peasants very smoothly and brought the cooperative movement to success in a short span of time without much ado by applying the original policy of remoulding them to suit our specific realities, instead of eliminating them by violence.

In implementing the policy of agricultural cooperation the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung made it an important principle to get the working-class party and state to give effective guidance and powerful assistance to the cooperative economy.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Throughout the period of the agricultural cooperative movement our Party and the Government of the Republic persistently carried out the organizational and political work among the peasants and, relying on socialist industry, gave enormous material and technical assistance in diverse forms to agricultural cooperatives and helped them in terms of manpower. Such guidance and assistance played a decisive role in both shoring up the weak agricultural cooperatives organized with poor peasants in the incipient stage to show their advantages over the individual economy and consolidating the cooperative economic system politically and economically" *(Let Us Further Strengthen the Socialist System of Our Country,* Eng. ed., p. 10).

The Marxist-Leninist classics had attached importance to the guidance and assistance of the working class to the peasantry in agricultural cooperation. The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung went further and considered this problem as a comprehensive guidance and assistance to the peasants in all spheres and put it up as the key to the success of the cooperative movement.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's outstanding proposition that state guidance and assistance to the agricultural cooperative economy was an important matter of principle in agricultural cooperation proved decisive in demonstrating the superiority of the cooperative economy by strengthening the politico-ideological guidance and material and technical assistance of the working class to the peasants, in encouraging the peasants to join cooperatives voluntarily and in ensuring the leadership of the working class to the cooperative movement.

Historical experience shows that the peasants can not be awakened politically enough to accept the advanced cooperative economic system unless they receive political guidance and material and technical assistance from the working-class party and state. They want freedom from the unstability of the private economy, but they pin hope on it, afraid of its revolutionary reform because of their petty-proprietor mentality.

That is why the peasants need revolutionary influence given under the guidance of the working-class party. Only then can they awaken politically, realize that under socialism they will be able radically to improve their life, and get ideologically ready to accept the cooperative farming.

Moreover, the peasants with backward primitive technology are not in a position to lay by themselves a firm material and technical foundation of the cooperative farming. Powerful material and technical assistance from the Party and the state are indispensable for the consolidation and development of the cooperative economy into a large-scale socialist collective economy equipped with up-to-date machinery and technique. Specifically, the lean cooperative economy organized exclusively with poor peasants in the incipient stage of cooperation could hardly be expected to beef up its weak economic foundation quickly and fully demonstrate its superiority over private economy unless it was given full-scale assistance by the Party and the state, materially, technically and in terms of manpower.

As seen above, the correct policy of our Party, which defined effective guidance and powerful assistance from the working-class party and state to the agricultural cooperative economy as one of the important principles, led the peasants to the path of the socialist cooperative economy and provided essential conditions and sure guarantee for the consolidation and development of the cooperative economy.

The idea that the working-class party and state must take responsibility for giving guidance and assistance to the peasantry is a creative, revolutionary idea originated by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

This idea emanates from the revolutionary stand that a working-class party must positively lead the agricultural cooperative movement by strengthening its guidance and assistance to the peasants and elevating the leadership role of the working class and should help the peasants to the last and lead them along the path of socialism in a responsible manner.

The great idea and theory of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung greatly contributed to further developing and enriching the Marxist-Leninist theory on agricultural cooperation.

3. SUCCESSFUL CARRYING OUT OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN OUR COUNTRY UNDER WISE GUIDANCE OF THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY LEADER COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

CORRECT SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Determining proper stages for the development of the agricultural cooperative movement was a very important problem in applying the voluntary principle and unerringly implementing the class policy under the condition in which the peasants' economic positions and their political and ideological levels varied.

Without doing this, it would have been impossible to incorporate different sections of peasants on the voluntary principle and correctly implement the class policy towards them.

The political and ideological levels of these different sections of the peasantry varied with one another. Some of them, therefore, might accept the cooperative economy sooner and others later.

They also differed from one another in their economic conditions. And as each of them compared his own private farming with the cooperative economy, they were not ready to join the cooperatives all at the same time. The poor peasants supported the cooperatives and joined them from the outset whereas the middle peasants wished to join them only when their advantages were shown to some extent, and the rich peasants were all the more hesitant.

The infeasibility of their simultaneous incorporation necessitated a properly phased development of the cooperative movement to suit their specific conditions.

Our Party set the proper stages for the development of the cooperative movement and this enabled it to strictly observe the voluntary principle and, at the same time, to correctly define the categories of peasants to be won over at each stage and work out correct strategy and tactics accordingly.

Correct determination of the stages for the development of the cooperative movement was essential for ensuring an effective working-class leadership and sound development of this movement, overcoming both impetuosity and sluggishness.

Our Party made a correct analysis of the specific conditions of our country and, on this basis, fixed three stages—the experimental stage, the stage of mass-scale development and the stage of completion—and vigorously pushed ahead with the cooperative movement.

The Sixth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee convened in August 1953, right after the armistice, advanced the policy of organizing agricultural cooperatives on experimental basis in our country.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught:

"Firmly relying on the poor peasants and our Party's activists in the countryside, the Party first mobilized them and organized several agricultural cooperatives in each county. This marked the experimental stage in the agricultural cooperative movement in our country. Our Party's aims in the experimental stage were to have the functionaries accumulate experience in the organization of cooperative farming and acquire confidence in the victory of the cooperative movement and, what was important, to draw all the peasants, the middle peasants in particular, into the cooperative movement on a mass scale by showing them the advantages of cooperative farming in practice" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 289).

Here the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung gave a scientific exposition of the significance of the experimental stage in the agricultural cooperative movement.

As the leader taught, the experimental stage was a highly important stage in having the functionaries accumulate practical experience in the organization and management of cooperative farming in order to successfully carry out such a complex and difficult revolutionary task as leading millions of peasants to collective farming. It was also of great significance in making preparation for the mass-scale development of the agricultural cooperative movement by showing the advantages of coopera-

tive farming and thus giving object lessons to the broad masses of the peasants.

Already during the war, our Party increased the state agricultural and livestock farms, farm-machine hire stations and draught-animal hire stations, etc. and actively fostered and developed such buds of socialist cooperative farming as mutual-aid teams, joint frontline working parties and sideline cooperatives. As a result, by August 1953, right after the armistice, 174 cooperatives involving more than 2,300 farm households had been organized in our country.

These cooperatives were, in nature, no more than the rudimental forms of cooperatives like the mutual-aid teams or sideline cooperatives. And by this time most of the joint frontline working parties, which were organized on the principle of joint ownership of the means of production and distribution according only to the work done in the specific wartime condition, had been reorganized into simple form of cooperatives. So ample experience in the cooperative movement had not yet been accumulated.

Under the situation, our Party gave a serious consideration to the fact that the peasants had almost no experience in the organization and operation of cooperative farming, their ideological, technical and cultural levels were low, and the sense of private ownership of the land and other means of production survived in their minds to a considerable extent. It deemed it necessary to set an experimental stage and find concrete ways and means from its own experience so as to successfully carry out agricultural cooperation, a complex revolutionary change.

Important tasks at the experimental stage were to have the cadres gain experience in the organization, management and operation of cooperative farming, unfold the cooperative movement with confidence and encourage the peasants, the middle peasants in particular, to volunteer for the cooperative movement by showing them the advantages of the cooperative farming by practical example.

Our Party set about the experimental stage by organizing several model units and gradually enlarging the scope.

At the experimental stage, our Party first organized a few cooperatives with poor peasants and the Party's core elements in the countryside in each county on an experimental basis and put them to the test.

Whom to admit to the cooperatives at the experimental stage was a problem of special importance.

It was because how to develop the newly emerging socialist collective economy was a problem deciding the future of the agricultural cooperative movement.

In particular, the experimental stage in our country started in 1953 when the war was just over. In those days the US imperialists entrenched in the southern half of the Republic incessantly carried out the subversive and sabotaging manoeuvres against the northern half and our countryside was undergoing innumerable hardships and difficulties owing to the serious war damages.

Having taken this situation into proper consideration, our Party organized the cooperative economy by firmly relying on the families of patriotic martyrs, the families of the People's Armymen, the demobilized soldiers, the poor peasants and other core elements in the countryside and built up several experimental units in each county and developed them.

This was aimed to accumulate experience in organizing and operating cooperatives in conformity with the specific features of localities with different topographical conditions and demonstrate the advantages of cooperative farming by actual facts to the peasants all over the country.

Thus, at the experimental stage the cooperatives engaging mainly in agricultural production were set up in the plain areas, and the livestock and fishermen's cooperatives and other sideline cooperatives existing in the mountainous and coastal areas were reorganized into agro-stock cooperatives or agro-fishery cooperatives. Wide experience was gained through their organization and operation.

From the early days of the experimental stage up to January 1954, when the instructions of the Party Central Committee was issued about the orientation for organizing the agricultural cooperatives, our Party gave guidance and assistance, with the greatest attention, to the cooperatives which were tentatively organized in each county and in this course determined the concrete ways and means of organizing cooperatives.

In guiding the experimental units of cooperatives, our Party paid main attention to the following points:

First, to leading the functionaries and the peasant masses to gain rich life experience by making them strictly observe the voluntary principle and preventing the cooperative movement from following any fixed pattern under the condition where the peasants were still strongly influenced by the idea of private ownership of the land and other means of production and lacked

in experience of joint labour and collective life;

Second, to bringing forth early the advantages of the cooperative economy by strengthening the political and ideological influence of the working-class party and state on the peasants and giving them effective guidance and assistance;

Third, to ascertaining possible Right and "Left" deviations in the cooperative movement and measures to prevent them, overcome impetuosity and sluggishness and push ahead vigorously with the movement along the right path.

Thus, by the end of 1953, more than 800 cooperatives had been organized in our country and all of them rapidly consolidated and developed organizationally and economically thanks to the effective guidance and assistance of the Party and state and the great enthusiasm of the cooperative members. From its experience gained in this period, in January 1954 our Party sent a directive of its Central Committee, "Concerning the Problem of Organizing the Agricultural Cooperative Economy", to its organizations at all levels instructing that the directive was brought home to the peasant masses and that cooperatives were organized more briskly.

This correct policy enabled our Party to set a clear orientation and concrete ways and means to promote the organization of cooperatives more carefully and actively on the basis of the experience gained in organizing and operating the cooperative economy in the initial period of the experimental stage.

The directive served as a guideline in carrying out the agricultural cooperative movement; it defined the forms of cooperatives and advanced their organizational principles in concrete terms to fit in with the socio-economic conditions of our peasants and their ideological awareness on the basis of a scientific analysis of the agricultural cooperative farming organized and run for the first time in our country.

In serious consideration of the peasants' attachment to the land and their sense of private ownership, our Party laid down in its directive three types of agricultural cooperatives so that various strata of the peasants could choose any of them as they pleased. In the directive, our Party also instructed that cooperatives be gradually organized to suit the readiness on the part of the peasants, strictly observing the voluntary principle and accumulating experience. In particular, it instructed that the gradual organization of the cooperatives should be carried out by overcoming such Right and "Left" deviations as impetuousity and passive attitude and by consolidating the successes

already achieved. It also warned that this undertaking should never be mechanically subjected to set order but be based on an adequate consideration of the political awareness of the peasants and the cadres' guiding abilities.

Our Party conducted organizational and political work to bring the directive home to its rural core elements and the peasant masses by activating the Party organizations at all levels and the Party members and strove to give greater impetus to organizing agricultural cooperatives in reliance on its members and core elements in the countryside. As a result, in the spring of 1954 cooperatives were organized briskly in the vast rural areas, and the number of new cooperatives quickly increased.

Under the circumstances, our Party saw to it that the Cabinet decision "On the Measures to Strengthen and Develop the Agricultural Cooperative Economy" was adopted in March 1954. By this decision, the state registered the agricultural cooperatives to give them legal validity and ensure their economic activities by law.

Measures were also taken to draw up standard rules for the agricultural cooperatives and, on this basis, work out the rules for each cooperative, as well as train the managerial personnel and establish the system of bookkeeping.

In particular, it saw that concrete steps were taken to carry through the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's instructions on strengthening state guidance and assistance to the agricultural cooperatives.

Thus, the state organs at all levels, the peasants' banks, the farm-machine hire stations and the consumers' cooperatives gave powerful assistance to the agricultural cooperative economy by preferentially providing it with seed grains, draught animals, breeders, farm implements, fertilizer and funds. As a result the cooperative economy could expand the arable land, convert dry fields into paddies, improve them and widely introduce the advanced methods of farming to increase crop yields. It also could develop diversified farming including the cultivation of industrial crops, animal husbandry, fruit growing and sericulture to increase production quickly.

Along with this, the state helped organize and operate agro-stock cooperatives in the mountain areas and agro-fishery cooperatives in the coastal areas to suit their geographical features so that the productive basis of the joint economy might be consolidated and the living standards of the members of the cooperatives improved.

The cooperatives of early days at the experimental stage comprised the poor peasants who had been extremely impoverished in the war, so the productive bases of these cooperatives were very weak and their members' living was very hard.

Such being the case, the Party and the Government increased their material assistance to the newly organized cooperatives in every way, laying stress on the pressing problems—strengthening their productive bases and improving the living standards of the members.

This measure proved decisive in shoring up the early, poor cooperatives and consolidating and developing them.

While energetically consolidating the fledgling cooperatives in their farming in this way, our Party, from the autumn of 1954, directed all its efforts to organizing more cooperatives and strengthening them organizationally and economically.

The leader got the peasant masses to understand the correctness of our Party's policy of agricultural cooperation. To this end, he made sure that vigorous political work was conducted through various means, for instance, by sending competent functionaries mainly from the Party Central Committee and local Party organizations at different levels and also from government and economic bodies to the countryside to explain and disseminate our Party's policy of the agricultural cooperative movement to the peasant masses. He also organized inspections for the peasants to see the tangible advantages of the cooperatives.

At the same time, he saw to it that the successes attained by the cooperatives from the early days of the experimental stage were widely propagated to overcome false, reactionary rumours spread by the shady elements and dispel the outdated notion of the cooperative economy entertained by some of the peasants.

In particular, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung visited in person many rural villages, talked with the peasants and acquired a detailed grasp of the actual conditions of the countryside, and guided the work of organizing, managing and operating the cooperatives on the spot.

In the autumn of 1954, for instance, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung personally called at Chongsan-ri, Kangso County, South Pyongan Province, and many other rural villages,where he explained in detail about the specific problems related to the organization and operation of the cooperatives—the method of incorporating the land and other means of

production, the forms and sizes of the cooperatives, the formation and operation of the management boards, political and ideological education for the cooperative members, the work among the rural core elements and the like. And he encouraged the peasants to actively participate in the cooperative movement with confidence.

Immensely inspired by the great care and wise guidance of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the peasants participated in the cooperative movement with a high degree of political zeal. Thus, the movement gained momentum.

While organizing cooperatives, our Party did not neglect the individual peasants but continued to give guidance and assistance to the peasants who had not yet joined the cooperative, especially the poor individual peasants.

This was a correct step because in those days the individual farmers were the main agricultural producers and the revolutionary masses to be won over to the side of the cooperative economy. Particularly the energetic work with the poor peasants to consolidate the rural position was of decisive significance in giving strong impetus without letup to the cooperative movement.

Thanks to the energetic organizational and political work of our Party and the heightened revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasants, the work of organizing cooperatives was carried out briskly. Their number increased rapidly. By October 1954 the figure reached 4,200, and 10.9 per cent of the total farm households and 10.7 per cent of the total arable land were cooperativized.

In this period the cooperatives comprised the poor peasants and rural core elements and their economic foundations were very weak and their members were not well-off.

Under the circumstances, our Party gave powerful material and technical assistance to the cooperatives through state channel and gave constant guidance in the work of their management and operation to shore them up rapidly.

Our Party directed great efforts to rectifying the deviations which appeared in the organization, management and operation of the cooperatives at the experimental stage and thus overcame them in time.

One of the main deviations at that stage was that both passivity and impetuosity were revealed in organizing and guiding the cooperative movement.

Passivity found its expression in leaving the cooperative

movement to the mercy of spontaneity on the plea of observing the voluntary principle and in refusing even the state registration of the cooperatives organized by the peasants voluntarily, maintaining that too many cooperatives should not be organized at the experimental stage, in spite of the demands of the peasants. It was also manifested in checking the development of the cooperative movement, alleging that the lower form of cooperatives could only be allowed at the experimental stage, without taking account of the peasants' political awareness and their demands in deciding the forms and sizes of the cooperatives.

The cause of such passivity lied in the fact that the functionaries who guided the organization of the cooperatives mechanically interpreted the experimental stage set forth by our Party; they had no clear idea of the essence of the cooperative movement and lacked in the experience and knowledge of organization and operation of the cooperatives.

Impetuosity was expressed in trying hastily to organize the cooperative farming on a wide scale at a stroke and in unreasonably pursuing only advanced forms and large sizes, in disregard of the peasants' political awareness and their voluntary will.

This resulted from subjective desire of some leading functionaries who, without a deep study of our Party's policy for agricultural cooperation, simply thought that the revolutionary work could be done by the administrative methods.

Another main deviation revealed in the experimental stage was the exertion of negative influence on the organization of cooperatives by setting too high or too low prices on the pooled draught animals and farm implements without observing the principle of mutual benefit of the peasants.

This deviation was due to the failure of the leading functionaries to strictly observe the voluntary principle in organizing cooperatives and to guide the work in such a way as to carry through the class and mass lines in proper combination, and guarantee mutual benefit of the various strata of the peasants at different levels of ownership of the means of production.

Yet another main deviation at the experimental stage was expressed in various shortcomings in the management of the cooperatives.

These shortcomings were:

First, there were practices of violating the democratic principle of management. Managerial personnel in particular

did not run the general meetings of the coop members and the management boards according to the rules but handled the affairs arbitrarily; they did not bear in mind that the socialist cooperative economy was set up in accordance with the voluntary will of the peasants.

Second, the management lacked planning. Lacking in the knowledge and experience in the management of the socialist economy, the management personnel failed to work planfully on the basis of an accurate calculation of the entire operation including the organization of production and manpower.

Third, there was a tendency to equalization in the evaluation of work done and in the distribution of income. This was due to the strong influence of the peasants' petty-bourgeois equalitarian idea on the inner life of the new-born cooperative economy in the initial period of the cooperative movement.

Fourth, there was the practice of a careless handling of common property. Accustomed to dealing with the private economy until yesterday the coop members still lacked the spirit of valuing and taking loving care of common property; they failed to regard it as their own and handled it carelessly.

Fifth, there were instances of neglecting the accumulation of common funds owing to the lack of interest in gradually building up the production bases of the cooperatives as well as instances of laying aside too much for communal purpose paying little attention to the immediate need for the welfare of the members. Our Party's policy was to guide the cooperatives in such a way as to build up their production bases by gradually increasing common fund while at the same time stabilizing and improving the peasants' living under the circumstances where the production bases of the young cooperatives were weak and the coop members' lives were difficult. Nevertheless, some functionaries did not properly implement the Party's policy.

Sixth, some cooperatives attempted to build large-scale facilities from the outset and, worse still, to start businesses which had nothing to do with agriculture, seeking for profit. Blind in their total reliance on the material assistance from the state, the management staffs of these cooperatives tried to build something like factories at state expense and use them for profit making.

These deviations and shortcomings were somewhat inevitable because they were attributable to the lack of ability, experience and knowledge on the part of the junior leading functionaries and the managerial personnel of the cooperatives who

executed the Party's policy of agricultural cooperation right among the masses of peasants at that time and also to the survivals of old ideology persisted in the minds of the peasants.

In view of the possible deviations and shortcomings, our Party strove to prevent them to the utmost and promptly overcome them if they were revealed.

In October 1954 the Party Central Committee organized guidance groups comprising the functionaries of the central, provincial, city and county organizations to give general guidance in such a way that the centre helped the provinces, the provinces the counties and the counties the ri. At the same time, the management staffs of the cooperatives were systematically imbued with the teachings of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung on agricultural cooperation and our Party's agricultural policy. Short training courses were given and publications were circulated to them so that they might constantly acquire the knowledge needed for the management and operation of the cooperatives, i.e., the knowledge of the standard rules of the cooperatives and regulations for their internal activities, the methods of planning and making the tables of work norms for each grade, etc., and valuable experience gained by the functionaries in their work of guidance, management and operation was widely disseminated.

In this way the deviations and shortcomings in the agricultural cooperative movement were gradually rectified, the work of organizing cooperatives at the experimental stage pushed forward vigorously, the organized cooperatives consolidated, and their advantages displayed.

Having just emerged from the state of mutual-aid teams or sideline cooperatives, the cooperatives at the early stage of experiment in 1953 were generally undeveloped in form and small in size, each comprising ten to fifteen households on the average. Their management was also at a low level, not free from desultoriness.

However, in 1954 when they were at the final stage of experiment, quite a few cooperatives already began to gradually take higher forms, their size grew to some 30 households on an average, their management and operation also improved considerably. The level of planning in the organization of production and labour was elevated, distribution according to the quantity and quality of work done introduced and common property taken good care of.

Thus, the socialist system and order came to prevail.

The cooperatives became able to develop their economy in a many-sided way by rezoning fields to facilitate joint cultivation, distributing crops on the principle of the right crop on the right soil, making effective use of the pooled draught animals and farm implements and rationally organizing joint labour through division of labour and cooperative work.

Although mechanization was not yet introduced, the cooperative economy at the experimental stage was able to save labour power 20 to 30 per cent, increase per-*chongbo* grain yields 10 to 50 per cent and cash income 2 to 7 times compared with the private peasant economy, through the introduction of advanced farming methods.

In the cooperatives the Party organizations were firmly built up and the organizations of the youth and women brought to full activities. The political and ideological unity of the coop members was strengthened by the active role of the Party members and the rural nuclei, and the coop members became firmly convinced that the socialist cooperative economy would surely emerge victorious.

The brilliant successes achieved by the agricultural cooperatives at the experimental stage smashed the reactionaries' abuses and slanders and all their subversive and sabotaging manoeuvres and also provided the basis for confidently bringing the masses of the peasants, the wavering middle peasants in particular, under the socialist cooperative economy.

Valuable experience gained by our Party at the experimental stage was as follows:

First, the party of the working class should give effective object lessons to the peasants, the masses of the middle peasants in particular, by quickly shoring up the organized cooperatives and proving their advantages through the powerfull material assistance of the state while firmly establishing its leading position among the peasants and constantly strengthening its political and ideological influence on them.

Second, agricultural cooperation, a revolutionary movement in which millions of peasants take part, should not be undertaken with have-a-try-at-it attitude even at the experimental stage but it should be carried out with distinct orientation of guidance and concrete methods and perspective of the general developments of the cooperative movement.

Third, at the experimental stage it was imperative to organize the guidance groups made up of competent Party and state functionaries and send them out to the countryside to

give active assistance in the work of organizing, managing and operating the cooperatives.

It goes without saying that such a step was necessary in the whole course of the cooperative movement. But it was of special significance to teach the inexperienced peasants at the experimental stage.

Fourth, in organizing and guiding the movement at the experimental stage the party of the working class could overcome difficulties and trials and lead the movement on a sound basis only when it always firmly relied on the rural nuclei, incessantly strengthened the political and ideological influence on them and actively helped them play the central role.

What was particularly important at the experimental stage was to help the new-born weak cooperatives overcome all difficulties and withstand trials to the end so that even a single cooperative might not break up but gradually grow stronger and more prosperous.

The specific conditions of the experimental stage required, first of all, to firmly rely on the rural nuclei in organizing and guiding all the work at this stage.

Our Party's great success at the experimental stage was ascribable to the fact that it firmly relied on the poor peasants and the rural nuclei and ensured strong and effective state guidance and assistance in every way.

Although it looked insignificant and very weak in its incipiency, the cooperative economy at the experimental stage represented the new bud that shot out under the powerful guidance and assistance of the Party and the state. It served as a good model in vigorously promoting the socialist revolution all over our countryside.

Under the wise leadership of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party scored a great success and accumulated valuable experience at the experimental stage, and the agricultural cooperative movement in our country entered a new stage of development.

At the Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held in November 1954, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung comprehensively reviewed the work at the experimental stage and set forth a policy for developing the agricultural cooperative movement on a mass basis in conformity with the urgent requirements of the developing revolution and the condition in which the middle peasants were joining the cooperative movement.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said: **"Thanks to the advantages displayed so clearly by these cooperatives and the tireless organizational and political work carried out by our Party among broad sections of the peasantry, not only poor but also middle peasants were drawn into the cooperative movement. Thus, the agricultural cooperative movement entered the stage of mass development in our country"** (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 290).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said, our Party's energetic organizational and political work and its correct policy advanced the agricultural cooperative movement to the stage of development on a mass scale in our country on the basis of the achievement at the experimental stage.

The stage of mass-scale development of the agricultural cooperative movement covered the period from November 1954, when the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of our Party was convened, to the end of 1956.

As the great successes were registered at the experimental stage and the advantages of the cooperative economy were displayed, the number of the cooperatives rapidly increased. The figure more than trebled between September and October 1954.

This shows that the agricultural cooperative movement in our country began to take a new turn in the autumn of 1954.

In view of the advent of the new phase of agricultural cooperative movement, the November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee reviewed the work of the experimental stage and advanced a policy for switching over to the stage of its mass-scale development, by following up the successes, to vigorously push ahead with the movement on a large scale.

The work of organizing the cooperatives became brisk right after the harvest time of 1954 and gained fresh momentum occasioned by the November 1954 Plenary Meeting.

The result was that, whereas 10.9 per cent of the total farm households were cooperativized by September 1954, the figure jumped to 31.8 per cent in December 1954 and kept on increasing through the spring of 1955.

Such a rapid quantitative growth of cooperatives proved that the agricultural cooperative movement in our country went over to a new stage of development, a stage of mass enrolment, after the November 1954 Plenary Meeting.

This was due to the voluntary participation of the middle peasants in the cooperative economy as a result of the consolida-

tion and development of that economy organized at the experimental stage and the full display of its advantages.

At the new stage, the masses of the middle peasants, the majority of the rural inhabitants, joined the cooperative farming. As a consequence, the cooperative movement at this stage progressed at much faster tempo than before. However, many complex problems cropped up in organizing, managing and operating the cooperatives on account of the dual character of the middle peasants.

This was the most important stage in the whole course of the agricultural cooperative movement; it was a stage which required careful guidance and on which the success of the movement hinged.

Under the wise leadership of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party firmly established a clear-cut policy and concrete ways for leading the movement at the stage of mass enrolment along the right course and vigorously pushed it forward.

The main considerations of our Party at this stage were:

First, to correctly understand the characteristics of the middle peasants in all work of organizing the cooperatives and consolidating them organizationally and economically through their skilful management and operation and thus strictly observe the voluntary principle without encroaching on their interests and carry through the class and mass lines in proper combination;

Second, to get the consolidation of the cooperatives to keep pace with their organization in anticipation of their rapid quantitative growth and forcefully push forward both their quantitative growth and qualitative consolidation to prevent possible disparity between them;

Third, to develop the movement on a sound basis by consolidating the success achieved at the experimental stage while at the same time guarding against self-complacence and lack of vigilance, the deviations which might appear in connection with the expected rapid tempo at this stage, and also strictly against petty-bourgeois impetuosity.

In accordance with the policy set forth at the November 1954 Plenary Meeting, our Party vigorously carried on the task of organizing the cooperatives at the first period of mass-enrolment stage covering the period from the autumn of 1954 to the spring of 1955.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The Party and the Government gradually organized the cooperatives strictly on the voluntary principle as the peasants came to understand the advantages of cooperative farming through the experimental stage, and actively promoted the cooperative movement in reliance on the enthusiasm of the peasantry" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, p. 131).

In guiding the movement our Party directed its attention, first of all, to defending the interests of the peasants, the middle peasants in particular, by strictly observing the voluntary principle, not allowing any violation of their interests. In all circumstances, it gave them tireless education, showing them the advantages of the cooperative economy in practice.

Our Party firmly relied on the poor peasants and the rural nuclei and actively roused their enthusiasm. Thus it made sure that those who became middle peasants by dint of the agrarian reform and supported the cooperative movement earlier than others were first admitted to the cooperatives and then those who had been middle peasants even before the agrarian reform were given greater influence so that they joined the cooperatives. In this way, it got all the middle peasants to join the cooperatives.

In persuading and educating the peasants, our Party tirelessly explained that the peasantry was an ally of the working class and that the party of the working class had a revolutionary duty to take them to communist society and was striving to give them all possible assistance in order to provide them with a bountiful life.

The competent functionaries selected from the Party organizations and state organs at different levels went deep among the peasant masses by firmly relying on the poor peasants and the rural nuclei, and persistently explained our Party's policy while showing them the advantages of the cooperative economy in practice. Consequently the peasants, the masses of the middle peasants in particular, began to join the cooperative farming en masse, vying with each other.

Thus, cooperatives were organized in all rural areas and the number of the cooperativized farm households sharply increased to 44 per cent of the total by the spring of 1955.

The rapid quantitative growth of cooperative farming at the stage of mass enrolment urgently demanded simultaneous qualitative consolidation.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"In our country's agricultural cooperative movement the

quantitative growth of cooperative farming took place simultaneously with its qualitative consolidation.

"As the peasants' enthusiasm mounted, the Party actively stepped up the cooperative movement and, at the same time, concentrated its efforts and those of the state on giving leadership to the organized agricultural cooperatives in order to consolidate them politically and economically" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 291).

Many of the cooperatives, newly organized at the stage of mass-scale development, were not yet well-knit organizationally but had to go on admitting those peasants who desired membership.

This urgently demanded that the Party strengthen its guidance to the cooperatives to consolidate them politically and economically.

To meet the demand, in February 1955 the Political Committee of the Central Committee of our Party adopted the decision "On the Measures to Consolidate the Agricultural Cooperatives Organizationally". In the decision our Party set forth the policy for qualitatively consolidating the cooperatives which were quickly growing in number and took concrete steps to strengthen the newly organized cooperatives politically, ideologically, organizationally and economically.

The sharp rise in the ratio of the cooperativized farm households from 10.9 to 44 per cent in only several months testified to a leap in the progress of the cooperative movement which could only be found at the stage of mass-scale development. The big stride was explained mainly by the fact that the middle peasants joined the cooperatives en masse.

Under the situation, unless the cooperative economy was promptly strengthened politically and economically, the success achieved in the organization of cooperatives would not be consolidated and developed and, moreover, the inner-life organization of the new-born cooperatives embracing many of the once wavering middle peasants would be weakened, and great difficulties created to hamper the dynamic progress of the cooperative movement.

With the increase in the share of the cooperative economy which accounted for 44 per cent or nearly half of the total farm households, the consolidation and development of the cooperative farming was of great significance also in stepping up agricultural production at that time.

In consolidating the cooperative economy politically and

ideologically, organizationally and economically, our Party strove, first of all, to strengthen the Party organizations and made them delve deep into the work of the cooperatives and give them effective guidance.

The organization of cooperatives urgently required the Party organizations to enhance their leadership role in the rural work; the success of the cooperatives' work depended entirely on the work of the Party organizations.

Only by increasing the role of the Party organizations, was it possible to raise the ideological levels of the coop members, strengthen the foothold of the core elements, bring democracy into full play, improve the work of management and operation, establish the socialist system and order and consolidate the economic foundations of the cooperatives.

Our Party, therefore, selected competent Party functionaries and sent them to the countryside in order to actively guide and help the Party organizations of the cooperatives in their work and strengthen the political and ideological work among the coop members.

The important question to which the Party organizations paid primary attention in consolidating the cooperative economy was that of enhancing the role of the working people's organizations such as the Peasants' Union, the Democratic Youth League and the Women's Union so as to arm the coop members with the great revolutionary ideas of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the monolithic ideology of our Party, and strengthen class and collectivist education among them.

Without developing the coop members' class consciousness so that they would hate the class enemies and the exploiting system, defend the socialist system and resolutely fight for it to the end, and without educating them so that they would faithfully participate in the joint labour and collective life of their cooperatives and take good care of common property, it was impossible even to maintain the established system of the cooperative economy, far from consolidating and developing it. Such education was all the more urgent because the tendency of vacillation inherent in the middle peasantry might influence the inner life of the cooperatives to some extent as a large number of middle peasants were drawn into cooperative farming particularly at the stage of mass enrolment, and because the alien elements who, taking advantage of the sharp increase of the cooperatives, wormed their way into the cooperatives might carry on sabotaging activities.

Along with the strengthening of political and ideological work among the coop members, it was also important to radically improve the work methods and style of the management workers in keeping with the new circumstances.

Thanks to the unremitting guidance and assistance on the part of the Party and the state to raise the political and ideological levels of the coop members and improve the work methods and style of the management workers, the socialist system and order were gradually established in the inner life of the cooperatives and the creative enthusiasm of the membership was brought forth. As a result, the inherent advantages of the socialist cooperative economy came to be displayed.

The greatest handicap to solving these problems was the low level and the lack of leadership ability of the cadres active in the countryside.

Moreover, many fine cadres who had worked zealously in the countryside from the time of agrarian reform were killed in the war. And there was a serious shortage of young and middle-aged men, while there were many women and old people. Under the circumstances, the solution of the question of cadres was precisely a key problem deciding the outcome of the cooperative movement. Our Party, therefore, paid great attention to the solution of the question of cadres capable of leading the rural work and concentrated its efforts on it.

In accordance with the decision of the Fifth Session of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee held in June 1955, steps were taken to select competent functionaries from the Party and government bodies and dispatch them to the countryside and, at the same time, to send the demobilized soldiers who came from the countryside back to their home villages to work there.

Our Party strove hard to train a large number of able cadres. Management personnel training institutions for the cooperative economy were established in each province to train as cadres many core elements in the countryside who enjoyed a deep confidence and had rich experience in the farming work. Particular attention was paid to training many fine women cadres from among the families of patriotic martyrs and servicemen.

This was the most appropriate measure which enabled the women, freed from the shackles of old society, to launch forth in the arena of social activities and work with greater political enthusiasm under the condition where women made up a majority in the rural working population.

Thus, as the ranks of excellent cadres were gradually expanded, the level of leadership and management of the cooperatives was raised, democracy displayed among the coop members, the alien elements who made inroads into the cooperatives removed, the undisciplined practices of misappropriating and squandering the property of the cooperatives and doing harm to their work stamped out, and the order and discipline established.

Another important matter in consolidating the cooperatives was to build up solid economic foundations of the cooperatives, improve the living standards of the membership, and thus quickly demonstrate their advantages in practice.

Here, the powerful material and technical assistance from the state played a decisive role.

When the agricultural cooperative movement entered the stage of mass-scale development, the postwar rehabilitation of the national economy was making brisk headway, industrial production growing at a high rate of 42 per cent on an annual average, and a solid basis was laid for the state to give powerful material and technical assistance to agriculture.

In strengthening the cooperatives economically, our Party adopted, first of all, a policy for ensuring them conditions for current farming, and then introducing new machines and technology and building production facilities necessary for the socialist cooperative economy as their foundations for production were gradually laid, while placing main stress on the improvement of the coop members' living standards.

In 1955 great efforts were directed to consolidating the economic foundation of the cooperative farming through investment of a huge amount of state funds and to improving the peasants' living standards by giving them state benefits.

It was around this time that many irrigation projects, including the large-scale Pyongnam Irrigation capable of watering tens of thousands of *chongbo* of land, were resumed in real earnest in different provinces.

With the rapid expansion of the network of farm-machine hire stations, the cooperative economy was provided with a great many tractors as well as a large supply of animal-drawn and other medium and small farm implements and chemical fertilizer.

At the same time, the state loaned seed and food grain,

raised the purchase price on farm products, lowered or wrote off the unpaid tax in kind and loans of grain and money. Thanks to these state benefits, the living standards of the peasants quickly improved.

Besides the material aid, a powerful manpower assistance was given to the cooperative economy to alleviate the shortage of farm hands in the countryside: discharged soldiers, junior and senior middle school graduates and other young and middle-aged people were assigned to the countryside, and many urban people were brought to support farming in every busy season, spring and autumn.

Thus, efforts were concentrated on the quallitative strengthening of the cooperatives so that their qualitative consolidation might be attained concurrently with their rapid quantitative growth. In the meantime, from June 1955 our Party restricted the formation of new cooperatives for the time being and disposed with some unhealthy ones in accordance with the decision of the Fifth Session of the Presidium of its Central Committee.

This measure was taken because the leadership ability of functionaries was failing to keep up quickly with a new phase of the situation in which the cooperation movement was spreading all over the countryside and cooperatives were organized extensively on the strength of the surging revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasants at the stage of mass enrollment.

The Party's organizational guidance work involved complexity at the stage of mass-scale development of the agricultural cooperation movement.

Our Party had scrupulously to carry on the cooperation movement in every aspect; it has energetically to push forward the work of organizing cooperatives, and, at the same time, consolidate the organized cooperatives qualitatively and heighten the functionaries' revolutionary zeal and leadership ability.

But the failure of the leadership cadres to increase their ability in keeping with the fast developing cooperation movement brought about some deviations in a number of districts.

The deviations were:

First, they tended to organize cooperatives in an administrative and businesslike manner by sitting in conference once or twice and taking the ayes and noes on membership in a collective way, instead of giving precedence to ideological work

for the peasants to enhance their political awareness and get them fully ready.

This was due to the fact that some of the leading personnel were so complacent with the success at the stage of the mass-scale development of the cooperation movement that they simply took the strong current of this movement as a triumphal march. So they got impetuous and tried to get quickly through with it, without taking pains.

The enlistment of the politically unprepared peasants in cooperative farming at the stage of mass enrolment resulted in brewing a strong middle peasantry mentality within cooperatives or allowed the negative influence of well-to-do peasants and, furthermore, gave the alien elements chances of subversive manoeuvrings.

Second, well-to-do peasants formed separate cooperatives among themselves only and refused to admit poor peasants. In this case, the leadership position was held mostly by the so-called influential men of the locality who had undesirable political background. They went against our Party's cooperation policy.

This meant that those who organized their "cooperatives" for ulterior purposes by taking advantage of the surging tide of the cooperation movement were winning over the middle peasants who were not yet politically awakened; it could have greatly affected the sound development of the movement.

Third, there was a tendency to organize large cooperatives of higher form, ignoring the political awareness of the peasants and the functionaries' level of management and operation. This might have resulted in creating disorder in the inner life of cooperatives and thus given rise to discontent on the part of the peasants.

Although these deviations were not widespread but revealed only in a few districts, they could not but be considered serious in the light of the progress of the cooperation movement as a whole because these shortcomings occurred at a time when it was urgent to eliminate disparity between the rapid quantitative growth of the cooperatives and their qualitative consolidation at the stage of mass-scale development.

This was why our Party restricted the forming of cooperatives to some extent, while at the same time increasing its efforts to refashion those unhealthy cooperatives and consolidate others.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"...the intensive guidance organized once or twice a year from early 1955, in which thousands of national and local functionaries were mobilized, played an important role in the development of our country's agricultural cooperative movement" (*ibid.*, p. 291).

For three months from June 1955 our Party mobilized over four thousand competent Party and government functionaries in improving the inner structure of the cooperatives and eliminating alien elements lurking in some cooperatives. This helped towards raising the leadership level of the managerial staff of the cooperatives and the political zeal of their members, establishing socialist system and order in the inner life of the cooperatives and rapidly improving all aspects of their management.

Following up the success, our Party again dispatched more than 8,000 guidance personnel to the cooperatives in different parts to help them, for period of four months from November 1955, in properly settling the year-end account and distributing income, drawing up plans for 1956 and making farming preparations. As a result, all the cooperatives came to stand on their own feet, improving all aspects of their management and operation.

Thanks to this unremitting guidance and aid given by the Party and the Government as well as to the high political enthusiasm and devoted labour of the peasants who were inspired by the guidance and assistance, the cooperative economy achieved tremendous successes in farming in 1955: it increased the per *chongbo* yield of grain by 9.8 per cent compared with the individual peasant economy; set aside a large amount of joint accumulation and funds for social and cultural use; and raised the share of each family to 115 to 135 per cent in grain and 150 to 200 per cent in cash, compared with the figures at the time of private farming.

These achievements were attributable to the fact that our Party set forth the correct policy of consolidating the cooperatives qualitatively in keeping with their speedy quantitative growth at the stage of mass enrolment, gave powerful guidance and assistance to the cooperatives and helped them overcome the deviations at the opportune moment.

As the cooperatives scored great results in their farm work in 1955 and their superiority was demonstrated, many more peasants wanted to join the cooperative economy after the autumn harvest that year.

At the December 1955 Plenary Meeting of our Party Central Committee the leader, on the basis of his analysis and review of the work in the first year of the stage of mass enrolment, took steps to rectify the shortcomings and promote the cooperative movement.

The cooperative movement which gained momentum after the autumn harvest in 1955 had characteristic feature different from that in the preceding period. From then on, the main thing to do was to draw the remaining individual peasants into the cooperatives already organized, whereas the primary attention in the preceding period had been directed to organizing new cooperatives.

The result was that from the autumn of 1955 to the spring of 1956 the rate of cooperation rose from 44.7 to 70.5 per cent, although the number of cooperatives increased from some 11,500 to 14,700. These figures show a tremendous increase in the number of new members of the existing cooperatives against a small addition to the number of new cooperatives.

By that autumn cooperatives had been formed in nearly all the farm villages, but considerable number of peasants had remained outside the cooperatives. It was not until that autumn that the rather well-to-do peasants began to join the cooperatives.

Grasping this situation in good time, our Party called a plenary meeting of its Central Committee in December 1955, where it set forth the basic tasks: to concentrate its efforts on improving the inner structure of the cooperatives, to continue to consolidate the success already gained and, on this basis, to strengthen state guidance and assistance from 1956 so that the cooperatives might be consolidated economically in such a way as to increase production.

Following the policy laid down at the plenary meeting, the National Meeting of Activists in the Management of the Agricultural Cooperatives, convened in February 1956, called upon the entire coop members to strive for fresh achievements in production at all cooperatives.

This aimed, now that their internal setup was strengthened, to boost production quickly in order to build up firm economic foundations for the cooperatives and improve the living standards of the peasants and thus demonstrate the superiority of the cooperative economy to those comparatively well-off middle peasants outside the cooperatives. It also meant a foresighted preparation for embracing even the rich peasants in the co-

operatives at the forthcoming final stage of the cooperation movement after speedily increasing the economic strength of the cooperatives.

Under the new circumstances where the proportion of the cooperatives accounted for more than 70 per cent and the cooperative economy became dominant in agriculture, the decisive factor in the growth of agricultural production consisted in the success in the cooperative farming. Accordingly, the policy on strengthening the cooperatives economically was completely correct.

In line with the policy set forth by its December 1955 Plenary Meeting, the Party saw to it that each of its cadres and state officials took charge of one of the cooperatives for guidance. This was an important step to concentrate efforts on decisively strengthening the cooperatives and making greater success in production.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung indicated specific orientations of production and management for the cooperatives in conformity with their topographical features. He personally visited many cooperatives for guidance and saw to it that the experience in the guidance was generalized by all the functionaries through their own guidance work.

In February 1956, for example, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung went to Kaechon County, South Pyongan Province, and stayed there many a day, acquainting himself with all aspects of the cooperatives there—the topographical features, the distribution of crops, the composition of manpower, the state of technical equipment, the leadership ability of managerial personnel and the ideological level of the coop members. He then kindly worked out production plans for them and gave guidance in their farming preparations.

The on-the-spot guidance personally given by the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung to agricultural cooperatives served as an important guideline for elevating the guidance level of all the leading personnel and further consolidating the cooperative economy.

The leader also ensured that powerful assistance was given to agriculture by industry which was being rapidly rehabilitated and developed after the war so that agriculture could lay firm material and technical foundations.

While strengthening state guidance and material assistance for the agricultural cooperatives in this way, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung called the Tenth Session of the Supreme

People's Assembly in December 1955 and led it to adopt a new law on agricultural tax in kind, whereby steps were taken to reduce the tax in kind in general, fix its rate and, at the same time, lower it by five per cent for the cooperatives as against that for the individual peasant economy.

At the leader's suggestion, in July 1956 the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly adopted a "Decree on Awarding State Citations to Workers of the State Agro-Stock Farms and Farm-Machine Hire Stations and Members of the Agricultural Cooperatives according to Their Outstanding Success in Production", and in September the same year the Cabinet of the Republic adopted a "Decision on Officially Commending Counties and Agricultural Cooperatives Which Have Scored Good Results in the Drive for Increased Agricultural Production". This inspired the cooperatives to extensively carry on the increased production emulation and encouraged their members to display a high degree of zeal for production.

All these steps taken by the Party and the state led to increase peasants' zeal for production, with the result that the agricultural cooperatives achieved great success in production.

The brilliant achievements in agriculture in 1956 were all ascribable to the great results attained by the cooperative economy, a dominant force in the countryside.

Grain production in 1956 increased to 124 per cent as against that in 1953. Consequently, the difficult food problem in the postwar period was settled in the main and production grew rapidly in all agricultural domains—in animal husbandry and in the cultivation of industrial crops, vegetable and fruit.

In 1956, the per *chongbo* output of grain in cooperative farming was 19 per cent greater than that of the individual peasant economy, and the share of per peasant household rose to 129 per cent in grain and 170 per cent in cash compared with the figures in 1955, besides the greater amount of joint accumulation and socio-cultural funds.

The brilliant success scored in farming by the agricultural cooperative economy in 1956 greatly influenced those comparatively well-off, unorganized middle peasants in joining the cooperatives at the close of the mass-enrolment stage.

Thus, from the autumn harvest of 1956, the cooperation movement expanded at still greater speed, and the rate of cooperation rose to 85 per cent in March 1957.

This testified to the correctness of the policy adopted at the December 1955 Plenary Meeting, the policy that ensured the

organizational and economic consolidation of the cooperatives organizationally and economically and increase in their production from the beginning of 1956, the second year of the stage of mass enrolment.

At the stage of mass-scale development of the cooperation movement cooperatives were organized in almost all farm villages, embracing all the peasants with the exception of rich farmers and some ideologically backward peasants.

In this way the agricultural cooperation movement in our country was completed in the main, and the socialist cooperative economy became predominant in the countryside.

The agricultural productive forces developed rapidly on the strength of the superiority of the new socialist relations of production.

Experience gained by our Party in organizing and guiding the work at the stage of mass enrolment is as follows:

First, to consolidate the cooperatives qualitatively in keeping with their rapid quantitative growth was a matter of principle that had to be maintained for a successful leadership at the stage of mass enrolment when the broad masses of middle peasants were drawn into the cooperative economy;

Second, it was an appropriate step to consolidate the internal setup of the cooperatives in the initial period of the stage of mass enrolment and strengthen them economically in the subsequent period in such a way as to increase their production;

Third, powerfull material assistance by the state and its intensive guidance in the management and operation of the cooperatives played a decisive part in their qualitative consolidation;

Fourth, it was necessary at the stage of mass enrolment to concentrate efforts on training many rural cadres to increase and strengthen their ranks.

The cooperatives gradually introduced new machines and techniques on an extensive scale and came to lay material and technical foundations commensurate with the socialist economy and achieved an enormous success in production, thereby strengthening themselves economically and rapidly improving the living standards of their members.

Thus, the cooperatives gradually laid economic foundations capable of bringing the living standard of their members close to that of the well-to-do peasants, and the cooperation movement was entering its final stage which would embrace all the peasants, including even rich farmers.

Drawing on the success and experience gained at the experimental stage and the stage of mass enrolment, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung set forth the policy of going over to the stage of completing agricultural cooperation.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said: **"On the basis of such experience and results achieved in agricultural cooperativization, the Third Congress of our Party set forth the historic task of completing it during the First Five-Year Plan. In order to fulfil this task put forward by the Third Congress of the Party in a brief space of time, our Party concentrated its efforts in those areas where the level of cooperativization was low, while consolidating the victories already won in cooperativization"** (*ibid.*, p. 293).

The final stage of cooperativization, as the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, was designed to bring cooperation to completion during the First Five-Year National Economic Plan set forth by the historic Third Congress of our Party.

From the spring of 1957 our Party dynamically struggled to complete agricultural cooperation by concentrating efforts in the areas which were lagging behind in cooperation movement, while at the same time consolidating the successes and drawing on the experience gained at the preceding stages.

In 1957, the year when this final stage came, the Three-Year Postwar National Economic Plan was successfully fulfilled in our country, and, on the basis of the powerful material and technical foundations of socialist industry, the Chollima Movement was launched in an effort to carry out the First Five-Year National Economic Plan, and the tide of a great revolutionary upsurge was sweeping all domains.

Under the circumstances where the force of individual peasants still remaining outside the cooperative economy was insignificant, our Party set forth the strategic and tactical policy of leading the coopenation movement to completion in a comparatively short period by continuing to push it vigorously forward, without slackening, in that favourable period of great revolutionary upsurge.

This was a wise policy to complete cooperativization in the countryside in an atmosphere of great upsurge in the revolution and construction while at the same time quickly promoting the socialist transformation of private trade and manufacture which remained a negligible force in the urban areas.

It was also a correct policy in that it was set forth at the

opportune moment when the force of socialism had grown decisive in town and country, when the political enthusiasm of the revolutionary masses was greatly heightened and especially when the revolution and construction began to advance by leaps and bounds amidst the fierce flames of the great Chollima upswing.

When the agricultural cooperation movement entered the final stage, the cooperatives had been set up in almost all our rural districts and embraced most of the peasants, except some areas, such as farm villages in the suburbs and newly-liberated areas and extremely sparsely populated mountain areas. Even until then, however, well-to-do peasants remained outside the cooperatives.

Our Party defined it as the basic policy for the final stage of cooperation to demonstrate the superiority of the cooperative economy more convincingly and thus decisively strengthen its economic foundation.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The living standard of a peasant after his admission to the cooperative should never be lower at least than when a private farmer. Therefore, in order to enlist those peasants who are still outside the cooperatives, we must strengthen the co-operatives themselves. If cooperatives are strengthened and the living standards of their members become higher than those of the remaining private farmers, they will join the cooperatives even without advice. As far as those peasants who have not yet joined the cooperatives are concerned, all of them, except those in the sparsely populated mountain areas, are comparatively well-off peasants. So this is all the more important" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings*, Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, p. 28).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, the private peasants who remained as such to the last, except those in the mountain areas, were comparatively well-off. In order to draw them into the cooperative economy, the first and foremost task was to consolidate the cooperatives and raise their members' standards of living at an early date.

Those people around the cities who were engaged both in farming and in trade, as well as the rich farmers and well-to-do middle peasants, were all comparatively better-off and they considered their living standards to be still higher than those of the coop members.

They were aware that inasmuch as the socialist cooperative economy had become a decisive force in the countryside they had no alternative but eventually to join in the cooperatives at some time. But expecting the coop members' standards of living to become higher than their own, they adopted a "wait-and-see attitude". This made it imperative for our Party to concentrate its efforts on rapidly strengthening the cooperatives.

An important task at the final stage of cooperation was to concentrate efforts on the qualitative consolidation of the already organized cooperatives and prove the advantages of the cooperative economy more clearly to the still remaining private farmers.

Needless to say, it was also important at this stage to speed up the work of organizing cooperatives in those farm villages around the cities, in the newly-liberated areas and mountain areas so as to complete the cooperativization as early as possible. Generally speaking, however, this task could also be successfully tackled if the cooperatives already organized in those areas were consolidated qualitatively.

At a meeting of management workers of the agricultural cooperatives in South Pyongan Province in January 1957 and at a meeting of activists of the agricultural cooperatives in South Hwanghae Province in December of the same year, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung explained the policy and concrete ways of strengthening the cooperatives.

At the former, the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Our task is to further consolidate the cooperatives. Only then can we gain more income than now and make the peasants live in plenty. And only when the organized cooperatives flourish is it possible to draw all the peasants into the cooperative economy" *(ibid.,* p. 21).

Following the policy set forth by the leader at the stage of completing cooperation, our Party consolidated the results already achieved and, at the same time, waged a dynamic struggle to further strengthen the cooperatives politically and economically.

Our Party fortified the Party organizations in the countryside and firmly built up its rural positions. In the meantime, it roused the working people's organizations by relying on the core elements in the cooperatives to inspire the coop members with political enthusiasm and thus helped them push ahead vigorously with economic task and the work of cultural construction confronting their cooperatives.

The most important question here was to raise the qualifica-

tions of cadres and expand their ranks. Our Party picked cadres from those people who commanded confidence among local peasants and were experienced in farming, and paid primary attention to settling them at their posts and raising their leadership ability through persevering education. Even at the stage of mass-scale development of the cooperation movement, there had been a keen shortage of cadres; many of them had to come from the Party and state organs, though some were selected from within the rural areas. Entering the final stage of cooperativization step by step, however, our Party ensured that cadres of local peasant origin were trained and their ranks increased as the cooperatives became well-knit organizationally and somewhat experienced in the socialist cooperative economy.

Moreover, guidance was given in such a way that management cadres participated directly in productive labour, strengthened work with coop members, delved deep into their work and acquired a revolutionary viewpoint on the masses.

Besides, politico-ideological work was strengthened for the coop members in order that they took an active part in joint labour and management of their cooperatives and vigorously promoted the work of technological reconstruction and the building of modern farm villages, with the consciousness and pride of being masters of the socialist cooperative economy, and, at the same time, that they had a strong hatred for the landlord class and the exploiting system.

Along with the political and ideological strengthening of the cooperatives, our Party directed its efforts to their organizational and economic consolidation.

In 1957, the First Five-Year National Economic Plan was started in our country following the Three-Year Plan for postwar rehabilitation, the foundations of an independent national economy consolidated and the basis was being laid of socialist industry capable of rendering powerful assistance in the technological reconstruction of agriculture.

During the postwar Three-Year Plan the production of means of production grew at an annual rate of 59 per cent; by dint of the rapid expansion of the cement, iron, machine and chemical industries, irrigation projects had already been undertaken extensively since 1955, the production of farm machinery increased, and modern machines and advanced technique were widely introduced.

As a result, in the one year's period from 1956 to 1957, the irrigated area increased by over 24,000 *chongbo* and the rate of

work done by tractors grew to 175 per cent and the amount of chemical fertilizer applied swelled by as much as 80,000 tons. Grain yields in 1957 were 11.4 per cent greater than in 1956, the number of pigs doubled and that of milch cow increased 1.9 times, fruit output 2.4 times and the output of cocoon by 40 per cent.

In 1957, the agricultural cooperatives set aside twice as much joint accumulation and social and cultural funds as compared with the previous year and, even with all this, each farm family's share in 1956 and 1957 increased respectively to 129 and 139 per cent in grain, 185 and 225 per cent in potatoes and 170 and 244 per cent in cash as against 1955.

On the basis of such a leaping advance in production, the work of building a modern countryside also made brisk headway in the cooperatives. In 1957 more than 7,000 technical study circles embracing more than 100,000 members and more than 50,000 cultural and art circles embracing over one million were activated vigorously.

Enormous work was done to build production facilities such as stalls, silkworm-raising rooms and storehouses as well as democratic propaganda halls, libraries, creches, kindergartens, clinics, barber's shops and other public service establishments. More than 30,000 modern rural dwellings were constructed.

In 1957 our socialist agricultural cooperatives overcame big natural disasters and achieved big results in their farming by boosting production by leaps and bounds.

This exerted a great influence on the private farmers and led them to realize the superiority of the cooperative economy more clearly.

Consequently, from the 1957 autumn harvest, the well-to-do private farmers came to join the existing cooperatives of their own accord. Brisk headway was also made in forming new cooperatives in some areas around cities, newly liberated areas and mountain regions where there were not many cooperatives.

As can be seen, by consolidating the already organized cooperatives economically and raising the members' standards of living higher than the remaining private farmers', our Party vigorously pushed ahead with the work of organizing new cooperatives in the suburbs, newly liberated areas and mountain areas, while directing big efforts to the work of drawing even all the well-to-do peasants into the cooperative economy.

Our Party took steps appropriate to the different peculiarities of those peasants in the suburbs, newly liberated areas and

mountain regions in order to bring them into the cooperative economy.

Those peasants in the outskirts of towns had some peculiar features distinguishable from ordinary well-to-do peasants. They were engaged both in farming and trade and remained private peasants until the last stage of the cooperation movement. They were different from ordinary peasants in that they were comparatively well-off and interested in a market place.

As for them, our Party brought them to realize that it was better for them to join in the cooperative economy than to frequent the market place. To this end, it saw to it that the cooperative economy was organized and run in conformity with the characteristics of the districts around the cities so that it could display its superiority. At the same time, it made sure that the vigorous organization of cooperatives was closely linked with the socialist transformation of private trade and industry in towns.

The peasants in the newly liberated areas were benefited by the agnarian reform later than others and they were lagging behind the peasants in other areas in political and ideological aspects. There was pressing need to raise their level of political and ideological consciousness before anything else. So, at the final stage of cooperativization, particular stress was laid on political work for the peasants in the newly liberated areas so as to draw them into the cooperative economy.

As for the peasants who lived widely scattered in the mountain areas, measures were taken to nationally organize work-teams in conformity with the topographical conditions and concentrate their houses in a definite zone, thus drawing all of them into the cooperative economy.

Some deviations appeared in organizing cooperatives at the final stage. They were:

First, resting on their laurels and prompted by the wishful desire to complete the cooperation movement in a short time, some people manifested impetuosity to recklessly organize cooperatives without regard to the political awareness of the peasants.

This was all the more detrimental to the sound progress of the cooperation movement, because those who were to be cooperativised at this stage were the well-to-do peasants.

No sooner had this tendency occurred than our Party grasped it and took a step completely to rectify it, thus ensuring that preparations were made with perseverance and consistency

for a steady progress of the cooperation movement to the end.

Second, there was a tendency to urge peasants to take a higher form of cooperative without taking into consideration their political awareness and economic conditions.

Which type of cooperative to choose was all the more a serious problem at the final stage in view of the fact that the comparatively well-to-do peasants and those peasants around the cities and in the newly-liberated areas were to be brought into the cooperative economy.

Even at this stage, our Party held fast to the principle of getting the peasants to join the cooperative economy voluntarily by educating them to the last through persuasion and explanation and strengthening the cooperatives and demonstrating their superiority.

This created favourable conditions for smooth completion of cooperativization and, furthermore, for the consolidation of the success in this movement and the development of the cooperative economy.

Third, there appeared a tendency to excessively enlarge cooperatives or amalgamate them.

It was appropriate to keep cooperatives in small size under the prevailing conditions of our country where the qualifications of cadres were not adequate, the ideological consciousness of the coop members was at a low level and the level of technology, mechanization in particular, was not high.

In some local areas, however, there was a tendency to recklessly organize cooperatives only on a large scale or amalgamate them.

To correct this tendency, our Party saw to it that small-size cooperatives comprising 40 to 100 households were organized, the qualifications of the management cadres raised, the work of management and operation improved and thus the cooperatives were run well in all respects in conformity with their actual conditions.

Furthermore, it prohibited the amalgamation of cooperatives when the cooperation movement was under way.

The tendencies revealed at the final stage were promptly corrected and the work of organizing cooperatives gathered brisk headway. In the spring of 1958 the rate of cooperation rose to 98.6 per cent and agricultural cooperation in our country was victoriously completed in August the same year.

THE LEVEL OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION

Items \ Year	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958
Peasant households (%)	1.2	31.8	49.0	80.9	95.6	100.0
Arable land areas (%)	0.6	30.9	48.6	77.9	93.7	100.0

As these figures show, the agricultural cooperation movement in our country proceeded at an extraordinary pace and it was successfully completed within a short period of only four or five years through the experimental stage from 1953 to 1954, the stage of mass-scale development from 1955 to 1956 and the stage of completion from 1957 to 1958.

The rapid progress of agricultural cooperation was the reflection of the law of the development of socialist revolution in our country.

Our country had carried out the agrarian reform in a thoroughgoing way. Then the policy of restricting the rich peasants was invariably followed and their strength weakened during the Fatherland Libenation War; the forces opposing cooperativization were extremely weak.

In contrast, because of harsh exploitation under Japanese imperialist colonial rule in the past, the peasant economy had been generally fragmented in the extreme. The peasants were in such living conditions that they were in readiness to accept the cooperative economy.

What is more, they had inherited our Party's brilliant revolutionary traditions established in the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle. They had had the experience of struggle against Japanese imperialism and the feudal landlords. In particular, they had been politically tempered and awakened in the course of creating a new life after liberation and during the war.

Thus, the balance of class forces between the counterrevolutionary force opposing cooperativization and the revolutionary force supporting it was decisively in favor of the latter.

The rapid progress of agricultural cooperation was ascribable especially to the fact that from the early period of transition the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung set forth correct tasks of the socialist revolution and worked tirelessly to make preparations for agricultural cooperation and that when it became an urgent task he advanced an original policy and led this movement along the straight road.

CORRECT SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF FORMS OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE ECONOMY

What forms the agricultural cooperative economy should take was a problem related to the method of pooling the land and other means of production and making distribution. So it was an important matter in which the peasants had the greatest interests and concern.

To adopt the proper forms of the cooperative economy is very important because it makes it possible to overcome all deviations, bring the peasants to display a high degree of enthusiasm, and develop the cooperation movement on a sound basis without a hitch.

After due consideration of the economic conditions of the peasant masses and their level of ideological consciousness our Party defined correct and suitable forms for the cooperative economy, gave correct guidance in respect of the problem of forms at each stage of the cooperation movement and found a satisfactory solution for this difficult and complex problem.

The question of the forms of the cooperatives arises in the agricultural cooperation movement because the peasants who differ from one another in the level of consciousness and in economic conditions are to organize the cooperative economy on the principle of voluntariness.

Those peasants who possess more land, draught cattle and other means of production and those who have less hold different views on the mode of pooling the means of production and distributing their products. And the peasants in general are different in their level of ideological consciousness. This shows

that it is hard to draw them into the completely socialist form of economy all at once.

This by no means implies, however, that they should be led to adopt the completely socialist economic form in a definite sequence of order, i. e., from the low to the high form. It depends on their level of ideological consciousness and their economic status whether the peasants are led to take a high form from the beginning or go step by step from the low to the high form or take the intermediary form at first and then the high form.

How to define the specific forms of the cooperatives, how many forms to adopt and what are their essential differences depend largely on how much the peasants of various strata differ in the level of their ideological consciousness and economic status.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung took into correct account the level of ideological consciousness of the peasants and the differences in their economic status and defined the forms of agricultural cooperative economy suitable to the specific conditions of our country.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"In consideration of the fact that the land remained the private property of the peasants and their economic position and preparedness varied, our Party laid down three types of cooperative farming at the beginning of the cooperative movement and, in organizing cooperatives, led the peasants to choose the suitable type according to their specific conditions" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 290).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, the specific conditions of our country required to lay down three types of cooperative farming, so that peasants might choose one of them in organizing cooperatives.

In view of the socio-economic position of our peasantry our Party foresaw that many of cooperatives to be organized would take a high form from the start.

At the same time, in the light of their level of consciousness and economic position, it considered that some of the peasants, though small in number, would not accept a high form of cooperatives at the beginning.

On the other hand, it also deemed it necessary to direct attention to the low form at the first stage of organizing cooperatives and give prudent guidance in order to gain experience.

Taking all this into account, our Party laid down three

types of agricultural cooperatives in the January 1954 directives of its Central Committee and led the peasants to choose one of the forms suited to their specific conditions.

The first form was the mutual-aid team, the bud of socialist economic form, which was aimed at letting the peasants get the taste of cooperativization.

The mutual-aid team was a little more advanced form than the oxen-sharing and labour-exchange teams, traditionally widespread in the countryside.

The former was a bit larger form of mutual assistance which was composed of some ten households and run on a permanent basis throughout the year, whereas the oxen-sharing and labour-exchange teams were very small forms of mutual assistance which comprised three to five households, assuming a seasonal character.

In the mutual-aid team the peasants owned land and other means of production as private property and had to farm on their own land on their own responsibility. Accordingly, each of them was bound to offer as much labour power as required for tilling his own land.

In this team, each peasant retained the boundary of his land and did not run the farming jointly, while doing joint work to assist each other in cultivating each other's land by turns.

The mutual-aid team was managed in such a way that the main work for all the team members' lands was done jointly throughout the year with draught animals and farm implements put to joint use.

In this team, therefore, its members owned the yields of their own land and did not need distribution. They had only to settle disparity in the joint utilization of draught animals and farm implements and in the expenditure of labour power.

Inasmuch as they jointly used the draught animals and farm implements owned by individuals, the balance was made up in kind or in terms of labour power according to local customs.

The balance was struck three or four times a year according to seasons on the principle of recompensing labour with labour, and a definite standard was set according to local customs to compensate in kind for the amount of labour that could not be set off.

The families of the patriotic martyrs and servicemen, who were particularly short of hands, might not be under obligation to make up for labour power by mutual agreement reached on among the team members.

Under an elementary and simple plan the mutual-aid team could give some technical assignment to its members while combining labour cooperation step by step with technical improvement, bring accumulation and farm implements under joint ownership and create some common property.

At the same time, it could jointly engage in sidelines such as stockbreeding, apiculture, sericulture and straw goods manufacturing. The fund for these sidelines was appropriated from the common funds of its team members and the income was distributed among them after subtracting the expense for the sidelines.

The mutual-aid team was the lowest form of cooperative farming, but it was able to develop gradually onto a higher form by consolidating its economic foundations through joint reclamation of land, joint purchase of draught animals and farm implements, joint sidelines, accumulation of common property within a certain limit and organization of labour and technical assignments.

The mutual-aid teams had some significance in gaining experience in the early period of the cooperation movement. They gradually diminished in number from the closing period of the experimental stage and almost disappeared by the time the movement developed on a mass basis.

The second form was a semi-socialist one, in which land was pooled in the form of contribution with its private ownership retained, and the economy was run jointly and distribution made according to the acreage of the land contributed and the amount of work done.

Here all the land with the exception of individually owned kitchen gardens provided for by a definite standard rule was pooled and put under the joint cultivation of the cooperative, removing the individual members' land boundaries.

The contributed land was rated according to its acreage and fertility. In case a member was going to withdraw from the cooperative, it was made to return the same acreage of land of equal fertility to him.

The draught animals, farm implements and other means of production could either be placed under common ownership of the cooperative or retained under private ownership of its members.

When the means of production owned by individual members were used, due compensation was made in kind or in cash

at the year end according to local customs. When requested by the owners, the means of production were placed under the common ownership of the cooperative and their prices were paid in cash or in kind by yearly installment.

All work on the land pooled for joint cultivation was done collectively and the labour contributed by each member was assessed in terms of workdays according to its amount and quality.

The distribution of the harvests was made according to the amount of land contributed and the number of workdays or to the number of points given to the land according to its amount and fertility and the number of workdays, after deducting from them the joint charges borne by the cooperative such as the total production cost involving the seed, fertilizer, machine hire, irrigation fees, etc., and the tax in kind and laying aside a definite amount of joint accumulation and the fund for social and cultural measures.

Income from joint sidelines was shared according to the number of workdays only.

The rate of income distribution for the land contributed was set at 20 per cent of the balance standing after covering production costs, tax in kind, joint accumulation and fund for social and cultural expenditure, and the distribution rate for workdays was 80 per cent.

But when a landholder worked less than 120 days a year he was not entitled to the distribution made according to the acreage of the land but had his share only according to the number of workdays. But exception was made when the absence was due to his long disease or unavoidable accident, and special workdays were reckoned with when he took part in the obligatory labour required by the state or when he was mobilized for the sake of the joint economy of the cooperative.

In the second form of cooperative economy the land contributed by the coop members was placed under joint cultivation, crops were distributed according to a unified plan and all work was done collectively by division and cooperation.

The cooperative of the second form performed an important role in getting peasants to join cooperative farming on the principle of mutual interests and to experience the advantages of the collective economy for some time and then to gradually develop their cooperatives on to a higher form.

Viewed in this light the second form was a semi-socialist one and assumed the role of transitional type.

The third form was a completely socialist one in which the land and other means of production were placed under common ownership and distribution was made only according to the work done.

In the cooperatives of the third form the land, draught animals, farm implements and other means of production were pooled and made common property, and all productive undertakings including sidelines were run jointly and all work was carried out by collective labour.

Distribution was made according to workdays after paying production costs including the seed, fertilizer, machine hire and irrigation fees and the tax in kind and laying aside 10 to 15 per cent of its balance as the fund for joint accumulation and two to three per cent for social and cultural expenditure.

In this type of the cooperative, too, its members had kitchen gardens, some fowls and other domestic animals as an individual sideline.

Each peasant household had about 30 *pyong* of kitchen garden to grow vegetables for the purpose of its own consumption.

The third form was the major type which held the largest proportion from the outset of the cooperation movement in our country.

Our Party laid down the above-mentioned three forms and allowed the peasants to choose one of them suitable for their specific conditions.

Basing itself on the three forms defined in the January 1954 Directives on the Question of Forming Agricultural Cooperatives of its Central Committee and taking into consideration the economic position of the peasants and their level of ideological consciousness, our Party led the peasants to adopt the most suitable type of their own accord and, at the same time, consistently adhered to some important principles. They were:

First, it steadily maintained the Party leadership and carried through the class line and mass line in proper combination and, on this basis, got the peasants to choose the forms of cooperative economy on the voluntary principle.

It was a matter of great importance to closely follow the voluntary principle in choosing the forms of cooperatives.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught:

"When new cooperatives are organized it is necessary to take a detailed account of the level of the peasants' consciousness, their economic position, etc., and decide upon this or that form strictly in accordance with the voluntary principle" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, p. 27).

Whether the peasants should join a cooperative or not, how they should pool their land and other means of production and how they should share their production, in other words, what form of cooperative they should choose—this was left entirely to the decision of the peasants themselves.

In the cooperation movement, strict adherence to the voluntary principle was as important in the peasants' choice of cooperative forms as in their making decision on entry into the cooperative economy. Except the rich peasants who stood against cooperativization, the masses of the poor and middle peasants who accounted for the overwhelming majority in the countryside were actually more interested in what form of cooperative economy was to be organized, that is, in what way their own land and other means of production were to be dealt with and how distribution was to be made, than in joining the cooperative economy itself.

This is why our Party considered it one of the most important questions of principle to strictly abide by the voluntary principle when peasants made a choice among the forms of the cooperatives.

In implementing the principle of voluntariness in the choice of the forms of cooperative economy, our Party could by no means leave things to the mercy of spontaneity.

The proper solution of this question posed one of the cardinal problems in correctly settling all other questions of the cooperation movement and developing this movement on a sound basis.

If an excessively high form was adopted without considering the degree of the peasants' preparedness, it would create a danger that the cooperation movement would retrograde rather than developing on a sound basis; if too much stress was laid on a low form, this movement might suffer from a petty-bourgeois influence.

This is why our Party invariably maintained the class leadership of the proletariat in adopting the forms of cooperatives and carried through the class line and mass line in proper combination. In this way, it constantly enhanced the political awareness of the peasants and, on this basis, applied the voluntary principle.

The agricultural cooperation movement is to all intents and

purposes a revolutionary change in which a working-class party transforms the individual peasant economy into the socialist cooperative economy in order to lead the peasant masses to socialism.

In view of their level of ideological consciousness and their economic position, the peasants might accept a completely socialist economic form from the outset or not.

Such being the case, our Party rendered powerful guidance and assistance to the peasants, the dependable ally of the working class and the basic masses in the revolution, and educated them through persuasion. Thus it led them voluntarily to organize the cooperatives of various types, semi-socialist or completely socialist, and followed the policy of gradually bringing all of them to take the perfectly socialist form.

Nevertheless, the voluntary principle in the peasants' choice of the forms of cooperatives did not mean permitting to leave the matter to spontaneity.

If it had been left to spontaneity, the peasants could have failed to choose a suitable form for their specific conditions; some unawakened backward peasants might have consented to adopting a low form of cooperative under the influence of the well-to-do peasants behaving like "masters" in their villages.

In a cooperative thus organized, there might have appeared such negative phenomena as allowing capitalist elements in a large measure and causing a loss to the sound onward movement towards socialism.

In leading the work of forming cooperatives our Party always strengthened the leadership role of the working class over the peasantry and increased the political awareness of the peasants. In this way, it enabled them to form a correct judgment of their specific conditions by themselves and, on this basis, to choose the most suitable form of their own free will.

Second, our Party rejected the insistance on a "regular order" which meant climbing gradually from a lower rung to higher ones in the choice of the forms of the cooperative economy.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"...some comrades consider that in organizing cooperatives they must go step by step from the first form to the second and then to the third. It is wrong to think that they must advance thus like pupils in school who are promoted from the first grade to the second and from the second to the third.

"The question lies in the degree of preparedness and the level of consciousness of the peasants. We should not force peasants who demand a higher form to take a lower form, nor can we impose a higher form from the beginning on peasants who are ready only for a lower form" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. I, pp. 491-92).

In this teaching, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung clarified the essence of the voluntary principle of choice for the peasants.

As the leader pointed out, abiding by the voluntary principle of choosing the forms means guiding their choice in accordance with the preparedness of the peasants, rather than forcing upon them either a high or a low form indiscriminately; nor does it mean going up step by step from a lower to a higher form.

Agricultural cooperation was undertaken by the peasants of different strata, and their attitude towards this movement varied. It was, therefore, impossible to draw all the peasants into the cooperative economy at the same time. That was why the cooperation movement needed stages of progress. In this sense, it can be said that the movement goes through different stages of development one by one.

But it is not always necessary for the peasants of all strata to keep the order of their sequence in choosing the form of the cooperative economy, starting all alike with a lower form at first and gradually going up to a higher form. They might follow it or not according to the stratum they belonged to, that is, according to their economic position and their level of ideological consciousness.

Those peasants who were comparatively rich economically but not highly awakened politically would not accept a high form at the outset. Hence the necessity for this stratum to follow the order of sequence. In contrast, those peasants who were economically scant of land and other means of production but awakened politically and underwent considerable revolutionary influence, demanded a high form at the beginning. Therefore, there could be neither gradual advance nor order of sequence in choosing the form of the cooperative economy.

The premise that the peasantry as small proprietors could hardly accept the completely socialist form at the start was based on their general inclination. To take it for implying a necessity for an order of sequence in choosing the form in specific conditions was a gross misunderstanding.

Having suffered from harsh exploitation under Japanese

imperialist colonial rule and the severe war damage, our peasants in general were very weak economically but had a high degree of political awareness. For this reason, many of the peasants could demand a high form at the outset of the cooperation movement in our country. This was one of the important characteristic features and the law of this movement in our country.

Some people, who failed to understand the specific condition of the cooperation movement in our country, argued that the order of sequence should be observed in choosing the form, simply on the general premise that the peasants would not accept a high form at the beginning because they were small proprietors.

This argument was a manifestation of the harmful view which denied the great role of the high politico-ideological level of the peasants in the development of the cooperative economy and tended to artificially retard the progress of the cooperation movement.

With regard to the choice of form, therefore, our Party considered it to be a matter of principle to reject the assertion on the need to go up step by step from a lower to a higher form in order of sequence, and followed the principle to the end.

Third, our Party also rejected the impetuosity of hastily organizing only a high form of cooperative.

Our Party directed great efforts to overcoming the tendency to indiscriminately impose only a high form on the comparatively well-to-do peasants without considering their economic position and their level of ideological consciousness.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Those peasants who have been comparatively well-off with much land and few hands should not be required to adopt the third form at the start. If this form is forced upon them at the beginning, it may infringe on the interests of the middle peasants" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, p. 27).

The tendency to hastily organize only the high form of cooperative was the product of the one-track mind that only idealized the high form, the perfectly socialist form, without regard to the ideological preparedness of the peasants. It was an adventurism detrimental to the sound progress of the cooperation movement.

This was the impetuosity of those who were carried away by the great success in the cooperation movement.

The transition from the individual peasant economy to the socialist cooperative economy is a socialist revolution in the countryside and it can not be carried out by a subjective desire.

The revolution can only be successful when the peasant masses are first of all educated in a revolutionary way, awakened politically and ideologically and united organizationally.

Blind pursuit of only an advanced form and premature attempt to realize socialism, without full politico-ideological preparation on the part of the peasant masses, would do harm to the cooperation movement, after all, and hamper its advance.

If choice was made of a high form out of a wishful desire ignoring the readiness of the peasants, it would be impossible properly to stimulate their productive zeal; it would greatly hamper the speedy development of the cooperative economy and the demonstration of its superiority.

The form of the cooperative economy determines the mode of pooling the land and other means of production and the manner of income distribution; it represents the maturity of the socialist relations of production. An excessively advanced form would create gulf between the backward ideological consciousness of the peasants and the advanced relations of production which would dampen their productive enthusiasm and impede the development of the productive forces.

That was why our Party made sure that the tendency to pursue only a high form was overcome and that the right form was adopted in conformity with the economic position of each peasant and his level of ideological consciousness.

Consistently adhering to the principle of guidance in the choice of the forms of the cooperative economy, our Party gave correct leadership to the solution of this problem to suit the specific conditions at each stage of its development and throughout the entire course of the cooperation movement.

Guidance with regard to the choice at the experimental stage was geared to the need of this stage in which agricultural cooperatives were organized among poor peasants and core elements in the countryside and in which stress was put on the accumulation of experience.

There were over 800 cooperatives in our country in 1953, the first year of the experimental stage. It was hard to make clear demarcation between them with respect to their forms. Roughly speaking, however, they took three forms: the rudimentary form (or the first form) which could be regarded as the bud of the cooperative economy; the transitional semi-socialist form (or the second form), in which the land and other means of production were not completely made common property and income was distributed not only according to the amount of work done but

also to the land and other means of production contributed; and the perfectly socialist form (or the third form), in which land and other means of production were totally brought under joint ownership and distribution was made only in conformity with the amount of work done.

As it was the early period of cooperativization, the form varied with the difference in the local customs of the peasants. But, the cooperatives could be classified largely into those three forms.

In that period, with a view to acquiring rich experience from those coopenatives organized as the experimental units in each county under different conditions, our Party led the peasants to choose and test various forms to suit their specific conditions instead of following a set pattern.

As a result, in that period, there appeared cooperatives of different types which might be roughly divided into three forms—the lowest form, transitional intermediary form, and the highest form—viewed from their typical features, though they had minor differences in this or that respect because of the specific local customs.

Despite the fact that cooperatives were organized chiefly by poor peasants at that period, they took the elementary, low form as well as the transitional intermediary form. This was due to the fact that since the cooperation movement was in its incipient stage and lacked experience, it was necessary to begin with the low form and use prudence in carrying on the movement.

In contrast, cooperatives of the high form were also organized, which was explained by the peculiar wartime conditions: already in the wartime joint frontline working parties had been formed and experience gained in the management and operation of a high form of cooperatives in which land and other means of production were placed under common ownership and income was distributed only in accordance with the amount of work done. Under the circumstances it was necessary to put a high form to test in the experimental units organized at this stage.

In January 1954, the second year of the experimental stage, the Party Central Committee, drawing on the experience gained in the experimental units in the first year, laid down the three forms and saw to it that the peasants chose one suitable to their specific conditions according to their voluntary will.

In 1954 there was a widespread movement among peasants to organize new cooperatives in accordance with the explicit

line and concrete methods set forth by the Party Central Committee on the basis of the experience acquired by the experimental units organized in 1953.

Our Party calculated that though the cooperation movement was in its early stage, many cooperatives could take the third form, the highest form, since they were to be organized by poor peasants who were most revolutionary with respect to their economic position and political consciousness.

It also took into consideration that in this period the cooperatives already organized as the experimental units had a certain experience and that the peasants therefore would be able to make correct decision in choosing the third form as the suitable form for their specific conditions.

Besides, our Party considered that as the cooperation movement as a whole was in the experimental stage, many poor peasants could possibly be brought into the cooperative economy before they acquired a high degree of political awareness and, accordingly, quite a few cooperatives might take a low form.

On the basis of such an exact calculation our Party led the peasants to choose a form suited to their actual conditions and, at the same time, took prompt measures to correct and overcome some deviations manifested in the choice of forms at the experimental stage.

In some local areas there took place instances in which some leading personnel arbitrarily imposed the low type on the peasants who wanted a higher one, disregarding their high level of ideological consciousness and economic conditions and alleging that the cooperatives at the experimental stage should start with a low form.

This was illustrated by the fact that the proportion of the low type was exceptionally high in some districts and very low in others, though they had no great difference in topographical conditions.

The difference was due to discrepancy in the work of guidance given by functionaries in these regions, and more specifically to the conservative attitude taken, under the plea of the experimental stage, by some functionaries in leading the work of choosing the forms of cooperatives.

Another deviation revealed was that some peasants tried to organize cooperatives of the high form only with poor peasants, preventing advanced middle peasants from joining them. They said: "Cooperatives of the high form should be organized, because the form in which land and the means of production are

left under private ownership and distribution is made according to the amount of land cannot be called socialist cooperative farming."

The cooperatives so organized at the early period were very short of draught animals and farm implements and extremely weak in their farming basis. This landed them in many difficulties and hardships.

Our Party gave consistent guidance to help to choose the right forms. Thus the passive attitude of the functionaries and the peasants' narrow-minded impetuosity towards the cooperative movement were set to right, and deviations were overcome.

At the end of 1954 when the experimental stage was in its closing period, there were more than 10,000 cooperatives in our country, of which 21.5 per cent was of second type, and 78.5 per cent the third type and there was no longer the first type.

As the peasants joined cooperative farming en masse at the stage of mass enrolment, the guidance in selecting the forms of cooperatives acquired a greater importance.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Since the peasants came into cooperative farming en masse, the form of cooperative farming and the method of pooling the means of production became an especially important question" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. V, p. 149).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, in the days of the mass enrolment of the peasants into cooperatives, it was a highly important question deciding the success of the cooperation movement to correctly define the form of cooperative farming and the method of pooling the means of production.

In this stage, cooperative farming came to embrace the masses of middle peasants as well as those poor peasants who had not been enlisted at the experimental stage and a very small number of politically awakened well-to-do peasants. This naturally posed the guidance to help select the forms of cooperatives as an extremely complex and difficult question.

The middle peasants were much the same in their economic conditions but they considerably differed from one another in political awareness. Those who had newly grown to be middle peasants after the agrarian reform had higher political consciousness than the old well-to-do middle peasants. The latter's political awareness, too, varied according to their political life after liberation. And among those well-to-do peasants who joined in cooperative farming at the stage of mass enrolment

there were the advanced ones who had been rather awakened politically in the crucible of the war.

Under these circumstances, our Party reckoned with the fact that the attitude of the peasants might be different in selecting the forms of cooperatives. At the same time, it took into account that our peasants in general possessed high revolutionary qualities and accumulated some experience in the cooperation movement at the experimental stage. So many of them would require the high form of the cooperative. But the middle peasants might approach the problem variously. It was particularly important, therefore, to give them object lessons and persuade them tirelessly so that they could choose the form for themselves.

Thus, at the stage of the mass-scale development of the cooperative movement, our Party took a step to rectify and overcome both the "Left" deviation seeking only the high form and the Right deviation clinging only to the low form.

The "Left" deviation manifested itself in the fact that the highest form, the third type, was exclusively forced upon the peasants in disregard of their actual conditions and that even in case the second type was selected, an excessive limitation was put to the acreage of private kitchen garden in gross contravention of the principle laid down by the standard rules of cooperatives, the proportion of distribution according to the land contributed was set below 10 per cent and the rent of the means of production was made practically nil.

This damped the zeal of middle peasants to join in cooperative farming and gave rise to even such a phenomenon in which they sold out their draught animals and other means of production before joining cooperatives. It also prevented the peasants from displaying a high degree of enthusiasm in the joint work for cooperative farming.

The chief cause of these "Left" deviations was that some functionaries, carried away by the success of the cooperation movement, guided the movement with petty-bourgeois rashness.

The Right deviation found its expression in trying to impose only the second type upon all the middle peasants without full consideration of difference in their political level, insisting that the lower forms were proper to them. And, even when selecting the second type there were such practices as to set the size of kitchen garden to the extent far exceeding the standard provided by the rules of cooperatives, set the proportion of income distribution according to land as much as 40 per cent or above and

fix too high the rent of draught animals and the means of production. What is worse, the peasants who had sterile land and no seeds, fertilizers and other farming materials were required to invest an appropriate amount of money if they wanted to join cooperatives.

This weakened the peasants' revolutionary enthusiasm for joining cooperative farming en masse and impeded the sound and rapid development of the cooperation movement. It also obscured the socialist character of cooperative farming, preventing its superiority from being displayed.

These Right deviations were attributable to the fact that some leading personnel, failing to take into full consideration the different political levels of our middle peasants, simply regarded them all alike and that the well-to-do middle peasants exercised an evil influence, taking advantage of some gaps created in the organizational and political work under the situation of mass-scale development of the cooperative movement.

Our Party carried on political work tirelessly. It strove to get the functionaries to have a clear understanding of the evil effects of the deviations committed in selecting the forms of cooperatives and gave detailed explanation of the contents of the standard rules of cooperatives of each type in order to correct them. It also took all appropriate organizational steps for the remedy.

Thus, it helped the peasants correctly select the form suited to their political levels, and economic conditions.

As a result of this unerring guidance in selecting the forms of cooperative, in 1955, the first year of the mass-enrolment stage, the third type accounted for 92.2 per cent of the total cooperatives and the second type 7.8 per cent, and, in 1956, the third type 97.5 per cent and the second type only 2.5 per cent.

The increase of the proportion of the cooperatives of the high form in 1956 compared with 1955 was because many such cooperatives were newly organized and particularly because the already organized cooperatives of the lower forms were reorganized into those of the high form.

Similar decrease had been observed in the proportion of the lower form which dropped to 7.8 per cent in 1955, the first year of the stage of full-scale development, from 21.5 per cent in 1954, the closing year of the experimental stage.

Guidance in selecting the types of cooperative farming was still important at the stage of completion.

At this stage, the well-to-do peasants and those in the

suburbs and the newly liberated areas were drawn into cooperative farming.

The peasants living around cities were well-off, and they and the well-to-do peasants were lagging behind politically and ideologically, and the politico-ideological level of the peasants in the newly libenated areas was low because they had not lived long in the northern half of the Republic.

As these peasants were joining in cooperative farming, our Party saw that too much stress should not be put on the high form even at the stage of completion.

Referring to the deviations which had occurred in selecting the forms at the final stage at a meeting of the managerial personnel of the cooperative farms in South Pyongan Province in January 1957, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The next thing I must say is that in organizing cooperatives there is a tendency to unduly seek an advanced form. In South Hwanghae Province, for instance, they tended to organize the third form without consideration of the ideological level and economic conditions of the peasants, saying that the high form was preferable in any case" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, p. 27).

At the stage of completion our Party considered that in view of either their ideological level or their economic conditions, the well-to-do peasants and those in the outskirts of towns and in the newly liberated areas were not in a position to accept an advanced form at the outset.

Hence, at this stage our Party saw that the advanced form alone should not be imposed upon the well-to-do peasants from the start.

Thanks to the Party's correct guidance, deviations revealed in some places by pursuing only the advanced forms without detailed calculation, resting content with the successes attained, were promptly overcome, and the peasants were able to select the proper form according to their own free will.

TYPES OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES (In %)

Year / Types	1954	1955	1956	1957	Aug. 1958
Second form	21.5	7.8	2.5	1.2	—
Third form	78.5	92.2	97.5	98.8	100.0

As the above diagram shows, the high form assumed remarkably large proportion from the outset of our agricultural cooperation. In particular, they held a sweeping majority from the stage of mass development, and by the time when the cooperativization was completed all the cooperatives were of the high form.

The fact that the cooperatives of the high form were organized in large numbers was quite natural as it reflected the actual conditions of our countryside.

Due to Japanese imperialist colonial rule and harsh feudal exploitation in the past the peasants' economy in our country was extremely fragmented, and there were no great differences in their economic lives.

Moreover, they had undergone a revolutionary tempering in the anti-Japanese struggle and the Fatherland Liberation War, and their politico-ideological level was comparatively high.

This situation served in our cooperativization as the objective conditions for organizing from the beginning a large number of cooperatives of the advanced form.

The large proportion of the advanced form was possible thanks to the intelligent guidance of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, who correctly grasped the economic conditions and ideological level of our peasants and led them properly to choose the form suited to their actual conditions.

Under the wise guidance of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, at every stage of the cooperation movement, our Party accurately analysed the complicated problems that had arisen in selecting the forms of cooperatives and successfully

rectified and overcame deviations, thus rightly solving the question of the forms of cooperatives.

CORRECT SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE SIZE OF COOPERATIVE FARMING

The appropriate and rational fixing of the size of cooperative farming in accordance with the specific conditions was important in both demonstrating the superiority of the agricultural cooperative economy as soon as possible and successfully carrying out the cooperation movement.

Appropriately fixed size of cooperative farming decides, after all, the rational organization of the collective farming of the cooperatives.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"...In our conditions excessively large ones are improper. We should fix the size of the cooperatives commensurate with the levels of cadres and technical equipment.

"What we have practically experienced so far also testifies to the irrationality of excessively large ones. Even in exactly similar conditions, most of the peasants of the cooperatives organized in not too large but proper and convenient size live a bountiful life and enjoy much more income" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, pp. 25-26).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught, the qualifications of the functionaries and the level of technical equipment are essential factors to be considered in deciding the size of cooperative farming.

The size can be enlarged if the levels of the functionaries' leadership, the cooperatives' technical equipment and the peasants' consciousness are high. And, in this case, only big size makes it possible to organize collective farming more rationally and display its excellence.

On the contrary, when these levels are low, the size cannot be increased. In this case, if the size is enlarged, the appropriate organization of collective farming is impossible and, consequently, its advantages cannot be displayed to the full. Needless to say, if those levels are high, it is reasonable to enlarge size. But increase in size without those conditions will invite desultoriness in organizing cooperative farming, weaken the initiative of the

peasants and frustrate the efforts to set up discipline and order in collective labour.

To fix the proper and reasonable sizes of the agricultural cooperatives, therefore, was important in displaying its superiority in a short space of time and successfully carrying on the cooperative movement.

In guiding the movement, our Party directed great attention to the size of cooperative farming and saw to it that cooperatives were organized in appropriate size suited to the actual conditions of our countryside.

In our country, because of harsh, protracted feudal exploitation the peasants' economy was extremely fragmented and their levels of technology and culture were deploringly low.

In addition, economic forms were transformed prior to technological reform, and cooperative farming also was organized on the basis of backward handicraft technology.

As a consequence, the levels of technical equipment of the agricultural cooperatives and the peasants' technology and culture were extremely low.

In general, these conditions did not permit the organization of large cooperatives.

To organize such cooperatives would be decidedly unreasonable in management and operation.

Hence, our Party saw to it that cooperatives were formed on a small scale in conformity with the specific conditions of our country and equipped attractively and that collective farming was managed scrupulously and rationally so as quickly to demonstrate the superiority of cooperative farming. Further, as the superiority of cooperative farming was demonstrated, the functionaries accumulated experience and coop members had experience in a collective life, it made sure that their size was enlarged step by step.

Generally speaking, when the size of cooperative farming is large, the superiority of the large-scale socialist economy can be displayed to a greater degree. But, this is practically possible only when managing ability, technical equipment and the working people's political awareness are commensurate with the large-scale economy. Therefore, our Party exercised strict control to ensure that cooperatives were initially formed on a small scale to be enlarged gradually and that they were on no account formed on an immoderately large scale out of one's subjective desire. It saw that the size of cooperatives was defined appropriately in all cases in conformity with the functionaries' qualifications and the level of technical equipment.

The basic principle our Party adhered to in relation to the problem of size in the whole course of the cooperation movement was to form in most cases cooperatives of small size in conformity with the specific conditions of our country, build them up handsomely and get them to demonstrate their superiority, thus promoting the cooperation movement.

The principles maintained by our Party in correctly defining the size of cooperative farming were:

First, to form in most cases small-sized cooperatives in the light of the fact that the functionaries were low in their guidance level and had short experience and the cooperatives were poor in technical equipment.

Second, to begin with the organization of small-sized cooperatives and then enlarge them with the gradual improvement in their setup.

Third, not to amalgamate cooperatives while the cooperation movement is under way.

In leading the work of defining the appropriate sizes of cooperatives, our Party not only put forward such a principled orientation but also concretely fixed their sizes (in terms of the number of households).

This was necessary because our peasants lacked the experience of running modern agriculture and, accordingly, did not know in what size collective farming should be organized. The situation at the beginning of the cooperation movement confirms this: at that time some 15 households were drawn into a cooperative in general, but under the same conditions some people formed large-scale cooperatives, each embracing more than 100 households, with the result that they found themselves at a loss how to deal with them and their management became disorderly and desultory.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"I consider it appropriate to incorporate at first some 15 or 20 households and then, as conditions mature, increase the number gradually to some 30, 50 and 70" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. I, p. 492).

From the start of the cooperative movement, the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung set experimental units, sent excellent economic management personnel to them and organized experimentations to determine the most moderate size for the cooperatives and compare and analyse them with respect to different sizes. Thus, he clearly showed that even under the same conditions the

small-scale cooperatives could organize their collective economy rationally and attain better results in production. He drew a conclusion that it was appropriate to organize at first small-scale cooperatives, each embracing some 15 or 20 households, and gradually enlarge it.

At the stage of full-scale development, too, the leader organized such experimental units and tested the scale of the cooperatives and proved that at this stage it was advisable to incorporate some 40 or 100 households.

As mentioned above, the leader made a scientific analysis of the actual conditions in each period and led the problem of size to correct solution by providing scientific standards for deciding concretely the size of cooperative.

The size of the cooperative with some 15 or 20 households at the experimental stage was appropriate as it enabled the management personnel to grasp and direct the work of their cooperative as a whole. At the same time, it was conducive to an efficient management of socialist cooperative farming because it facilitated the rational cooperation and division of work under the conditions of the low level of technical equipment, establishment of labour discipline, correct calculation of labour expenditure, full application of the principle of socialist distribution and responsible management of the property of the whole people.

These small-size cooperatives, as defined by the Party's policy, were without exception better managed and operated and had far greater productive results than large ones.

Based on these facts, our Party tirelessly and widely disseminated the experience gained in managing and operating small-scale cooperatives and thus corrected the tendency to organize large-scale cooperatives.

As a result, the average size of cooperative was 15 households in 1953 and 33 in 1954.

As seen above, at the experimental stage the advantages of cooperative farming were rapidly brought into play by making its size small and assiduously managing the joint economy.

At the stage of mass-scale development, the size of cooperatives could be increased to a certain degree. This was possible because some experience was gained in the management and operation of the joint economy at the experimental stage, but it did not mean that the preconditions were created for increasing their sizes in general. Our Party, therefore, kept on following,

as a principle, the policy of organizing the cooperatives on a small scale even at the stage of mass-scale development.

Referring to the specific size of cooperatives that should be adopted at this stage, the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught:

"In view of the lack of experience in the management of cooperative farming, the low level of the management personnel and the low technical level of our agriculture, our Party saw to it that the size of the cooperatives was comparatively small, each with 40 to 100 households. This was the right size for the cooperatives under the conditions then existing" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 291).

The size of 40 to 100 households was far greater than that of 15 to 20 households for the experimental stage. However, the size of 40 to 100 households adopted at the stage of mass-scale development was not so large for socialist cooperative farming.

Our Party thus kept the size of most of the cooperatives on a small scale even at the stage of mass-scale enrolment so that the joint economy would be organized rationally. Considering geographical features—the plain, in-between and mountain areas—our Party made sure that the size of cooperatives in the plain areas was a little larger than that in the mountain areas, with 40 to 100 households as a standard.

The reason why our Party set 40 households at the minimum and 100 at the maximum at this stage was that in most cases 40, 50 and 60 households were adequate in size under the actual conditions of our country and that there was also need to make the size a little larger—90 to 100 households.

Since organization of cooperatives and their qualitative consolidation were carried on simultaneously at this stage, premature expansion of their size was not permitted.

Under such correct guidance, tendencies towards larger cooperatives were rectified in good time, and comparatively smaller size of cooperatives was adopted to suit the specific conditions of our country so as quickly to prove the advantages of cooperative farming.

Thus, at the stage of mass-scale development the average size of cooperatives was 42 households in 1955 and 55 in 1956.

In the mountain areas the size was somewhat smaller than the average. In the plain areas there were instances of forming a cooperative of more than 100 households, that was much larger than the average. This was the case with the village which

had many peasant households but found it irrational to have two cooperatives or more.

The proportion of the peasant households drawn into cooperative farming varied according to the rural areas at the stage of mass-scale development: where the proportion was large, cooperatives larger than the average were organized, each embracing 60 to 70 households; where the proportion was small, smaller cooperatives were formed, each comprising about 40 households.

At the final stage, the comparatively well-to-do individual peasants were drawn into cooperative farming, as well as those peasants around towns, in the newly liberated areas and the sparsely populated mountain areas.

When these comparatively well-to-do peasants joined the existing cooperatives, there was no problem of defining a separate size for them since the size of the existing ones had already been set. The existing ones had only to swell a bit.

Though the cooperatives absorbed the fairly well-to-do peasants at the stage of completion, there was little change in their technical foundations and no need for a specially large size as our country had had no modern agriculture before.

That was why our Party maintained the policy of limiting the size of new cooperatives to 40 to 100 households each even at the final stage and did not permit the existing cooperatives to expand excessively in size.

At this stage our Party also rectified the tendencies to merge cooperatives.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught:

"Too large cooperatives are irrational under the present circumstances, and their amalgamation is still worse.

"Besides, the economic foundations and the levels of development of our cooperatives are varied. ...So, if they were amalgamated, the income for the cooperative members from one side would be considerably smaller than before amalgamation. And, at the same time, those from the other side would inevitably tend to rely on others" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, p. 26).

The tendency to merge cooperatives was the most serious defect revealed at the stage of completion.

Because of the difference in the economic foundations of the cooperatives and their members' living standards, the

amalgamation of cooperatives would be seriously harmful to strengthening the young cooperatives organizationally and economically, uniting the managerial staff and the coop members and stimulating their zeal.

Our Party, therefore, held fast to the policy of qualitatively consolidating cooperative farming at this stage, strictly prohibiting the practice of making cooperatives excessively large or merging them.

At the final stage the average size of cooperatives was 64 households in 1957 and 80 in August 1958 when the cooperation movement was completed. The figures show that the average size of cooperatives was somewhat enlarged as compared with that of 55 households in 1956 at the final stage of mass-scale development, but it was not so large for the size of socialist cooperative farming in general.

The moderate size of 60 to 80 households at the stage of completion was suitable for the levels of the coops' managerial staff, their technical equipment and the ideological conscious-

SIZES OF THE COOPERATIVES (In %)

Size / Year	Up to 30 households	31-50	51-100	101-200	201-300	More than 301
1954	57.0	27.7	13.1	2.2	—	—
1955	38.9	34.6	23.4	2.9	0.2	—
1953	23.0	33.0	35.4	7.9	0.7	—
1957	15.3	28.6	42.2	12.9	0.8	0.2
August 1958	8.5	20.4	44.5	24.1	2.1	0.4

ness of their members. This promoted the rational organization of the joint economy, consolidation of its internal organizations, and the demonstration of the advantages of the cooperatives.

As the diagram shows, in the agricultural cooperation movement in our country the coops were generally organized on a small scale and gradually developed into larger ones.

This was the requirement of the law, which correctly reflected the specific conditions of our countryside.

The coopenatives of small size held the overwhelming proportion at the early period of the cooperation movement because of the lack of able cadres for the management of cooperative farming and the low level of technical equipment of the cooperatives—limitations brought about by the backward and impoverished rural economy predominant in our countryside in former days.

Our Party did not allow large cooperatives in the early period when necessary conditions had not been created; with the gradual rise in the cadres' leadership level and increase in their experience in the management it expanded the size of the cooperatives to some extent so as to give fuller play to their advantages. Thus, the size of the cooperatives was gradually increased, each with 40 to 100 households.

Our Party's policy of gradually increasing the size of the cooperatives from small ones, each with 15 to 20, to big ones, each with 40 to 100 households, made it possible to push ahead more successfully with the cooperation movement by rapidly bringing into play the advantages of the organized cooperative economy.

4. CONSOLIDATION OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE ECONOMY UNDER SAGACIOUS GUIDANCE OF THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY LEADER COMRADE KIM IL SUNG

Along with the organization of the cooperatives, the consolidation of the already organized cooperative economy politically, ideologically, organizationally and economically was a very important question in bringing the agricultural cooperation movement to success.

Only when the newly-born cooperative economy is rapidly consolidated in this way, is it possible to show the peasants the actual advantages of the cooperative economy over the private peasant economy, bring them to take an active part in the cooperation movement and thus successfully carry out this movement.

Under the wise guidance of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung our Party energetically pushed ahead with the work of incorporating peasants and, at the same time, consolidated the organized cooperative economy by rendering it active assistance at every stage and period of the cooperation movement.

POLITICAL CONSOLIDATION OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

The cardinal task in strengthening and developing the agricultural cooperative economy was to consolidate it politically.

In consolidating the young cooperative economy it was of greatest importance to strengthen it politically by remoulding

the peasants' thinking and ideology to suit the socialist cooperative economy and building up a firm rural nuclear position.

Political consolidation of cooperatives was indispensable to stoutly defending the newly organized socialist cooperative economy from the encroachment of the class enemies. It was also essential to giving an effective object lesson to the private farmers by bringing the political enthusiasm of the coop members into full play and demonstrating the advantages of the cooperative economy at an early date.

The primary task for the political consolidation of the incipient cooperative economy in the early period of the cooperation movement in our country was to provide the new-born socialist cooperative economy with complete security from the encroachment of the class enemies and to raise the politico-ideological level of the coop members so that the cooperative economy could prove its advantages early and play its role satisfactorily as the vanguard of the socialist revolution.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"One of the most important tasks facing us at present is to educate all the members of the cooperatives in the socialist ideology in order to consolidate the victory gained in the socialist transformation of agriculture" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings*, Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, p. 266).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught, the education of the cooperative farmers in the socialist ideology was the most important task that should be implemented before anything else for the political consolidation of the cooperatives newly organized in the countryside.

The socialist cooperative economy can emerge only through the acute class struggle, through the revolution to eliminate the old relations of production based on private ownership and establish the new, socialist relations of production.

Unless the peasants were freed from old ideologies, the ideological foothold for the counterrevolutionary forces, it was impossible to firmly defend the new socialist cooperative economy from the encroachment of the class enemies.

So long as outdated ideas remained in their minds, it was also impossible for the peasants to unite firmly as comrades and have high political enthusiasm in the joint labour of the cooperatives, and quickly bring forth the advantages of the cooperative economy.

Therefore, from the early days of agricultural cooperation

our Party attached particular importance to the political education of the peasants to refashion their ideology and thinking as well as the transformation of economic sectors in the countryside, and energetically pushed it forward.

The agricultural cooperatives organized in the initial period in our country were very weak economically, and they had to undergo many hardships and difficulties because of the intensified subversive manoeuvres of the class enemies.

Those who joined the cooperative economy in this period were the poor peasants, but not all of them were considered to have been fully convinced and awakened politically when they were incorporated.

Our Party, therefore, clearly explained them that the great revolutionary thinking of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and the Party's lines and policies embodying it were the only correct guiding principle promising them a happy life. At the same time, with a view to inspiring them with pride and confidence in victory it got them fully to understand the essence of the socialist cooperative economy and its future prospects of development.

By awakening them to the truth that the cooperatives of the early days, which seemed to be weak and insignificant, would become a great force before long to spark the flames of the socialist revolution throughout our countryside, our Party gave them the sense of pride as the vanguards of the socialist revolution.

The Party also intensified education to imbue them with class consciousness and hatred for the exploiting classes.

It led them not to forget their past when they had been exploited and ill-treated, so that they might heighten their class consciousness and devote their all energies to the building of a new society, with a firm determination that they would never be wronged again.

As the cooperation movement entered the stage of mass-scale development, the ideological education aimed at reshaping the ideologies of the peasants had to be advanced in keeping with the development.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Socialist education must be intensified among the masses of the coop members in order to rapidly raise their level of ideology and consciousness. In this way, they will be led to have a proper understanding of the essence of agricultural cooperatives, actively participate in joint labour, cherish common prop-

erty, stoutly defend their cooperatives from the encroachment of the class enemies with heightened revolutionary vigilance and steadily develop the cooperatives" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. IV, 1960, p. 496).

At the early period of the cooperation movement political education was done chiefly among the rural core elements and poor peasants, because it was they that joined the cooperative economy in those days. But, as the movement entered the stage of mass enrolment and peasants joined the cooperative economy in groups with the Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee in November 1954 as the momentum, political education had to be conducted more positively, directing efforts to the major targets, the middle peasants, and the political base further cemented to consolidate the cooperative economy qualitatively.

At the stage of mass enrolment the broad masses of the peasants joined the cooperative economy on a large scale in almost all farm villages, and the cooperation movement developed with greater force.

Under the circumstances, our Party directed great effort to the politico-ideological strengthening of the cooperatives to qualitatively consolidate the cooperative economy in keeping with its swift quantitative growth. In particular, it devoted primary attention to firmly arming all the coop members with the revolutionary thought, the Juche idea of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

In this, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's writing *On Eliminating Dogmatism and Formalism and Establishing Juche in Ideological Work* published in December 1955 had a decisive significance: it helped overcome the dogmatic and flunkeyist tendencies revealed in the cooperation movement by arming the leadership cadres and the peasants with the Juche idea of our Party, carry through our Party's Juche-oriented policy of cooperation and consolidate the organized cooperative economy.

Our Party imbued the peasants with the revolutionary thought of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the monolithic ideology of our Party, and its policy of agricultural cooperation. At the same time, it educated the peasants tirelessly, using convincing materials on the advantages of the collective economy over the private economy, so that all the members of the cooperatives would have a correct understanding of the judiciousness of the Party's cooperation policy and the superiority of the socialist cooperative economy and display high political enthusiasm for its consolidation and development.

Class education of the coop members was also important at the stage of mass enrolment when middle peasants with a low level of class consciousness were incorporated in large numbers.

The Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held in April 1955 was of great significance in improving the class education of the coop members.

In line with the Party's policy, its organizations in the countryside repeatedly explained to these members the exploitative nature of the capitalist system and the superiority of the socialist system. This firmly convinced them that the capitalist system dedicated to exploitation of man by man was doomed to perish and the socialist system would emerge victorious. They also got them to correctly understand that agricultural cooperation was an important revolutionary task to establish such a socialist system in the countryside.

Moreover, they had all the coop members to clearly realize that the cooperation movement was attended with a fierce class struggle against the class enemies at home and abroad, so that they would keep high revolutionary vigilance at all times. In close combination with this, they stirred up their hatred against the class enemies and exposed and smashed the harmful acts of these enemies who, lurking in some localities at that time, resorted to every means to vilify the Party's policy of cooperation, spread reactionary rumours against the agricultural cooperation movement, damage common property and foil the joint economy in a clandestine manner.

As a result, the insidious manoeuvres and subversive activities and sabotage of the counterrevolutionary elements to destroy the organized cooperatives from within and without were laid bare and smashed at every step by the coop members' heightened class consciousness and political enthusiasm.

Particularly important at the stage of full-scale development of the cooperation movement was ideological education to root out the outmoded selfish ideas remaining in the minds of the coop members and arm them with the collectivist ideas.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught:

"What is most important in the communist education of the peasants is to wipe out selfishness and small-proprietor inclinations still found among them. Selfishness is a serious impediment

to our forward movement" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 323).

Socialist transformation of economic sectors required the ideological remoulding of people. For the consolidation and development of the cooperative economy it was imperative to wipe out selfishness and small-proprietor inclinations found among the coop members and imbue them with the spirit of collectivism commensurate with the newly established socialist system.

This was all the more urgent in view of the fact that the cooperatives rapidly increased in number and the middle peasants were enrolled in the cooperative economy en masse.

As the middle peasants took part in the cooperation movement in large numbers, various tendencies were revealed among the coop members. They placed private interests above the common interests of their cooperatives; some lacked enthusiasm for joint labour but wanted to have equal share; others carelessly handled common property while taking loving care of their private property.

Our Party, therefore, tirelessly educated them ideologically, applying diverse forms and methods. It paid great attention to eliminating all the remnants of outmoded ideas from the minds of the coop members and arming them with the spirit of collectivism while at the same time taking practical measures to raise the level of management and establish system and order in the cooperatives.

It inculcated them with the leader's great revolutionary thinking and brought home to them the essence of labour under socialism and the socialist principle of distribution so that they might love labour, have a proper understanding of the socialist principle of distribution based on the quantity and quality of work done and strive to carry it out.

The Party also tirelessly educated the coop members to get everyone of them to clearly realize that the common property of his cooperative was of socialist ownership, formed its material foundations and economic source for the continuous extended reproduction of the common economy and the improvement of the members' life. Citing facts, it explained to them that the common interests of the cooperatives fully accorded with the interests of the individual members, that the kitchen garden allotted to each member was an auxiliary source of income supplementing his share from the joint economy of his cooperative and that his

income would increase with the growth of the common income of his cooperative.

As seen above, all the members of the cooperatives were so educated as to strive as one to constantly increase common property and cherish and love the property of their cooperatives like the apple of the eye.

The efforts made for ideological education at this stage yielded great results in firmly arming the coop members with the revolutionary thought of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and in educating them in the spirit of unconditionally carrying through the leader's teachings and the Party's policies to the end.

Through the tireless political and ideological work, the members of the cooperatives were trained to actively defend our Party and the revolutionary government, faithfully participate in the joint labour of the cooperatives and cherish and economically use common property. It also led them to disclose and expose in good time all manifestations detrimental to the interests of the cooperatives and further strengthen their unity in ideology and will.

At the final stage of the cooperation movement the cooperatives recruited into them the rich peasants who had long turned their faces away from the movement, the suburban peasants who had inclinations of the small merchants, and the peasants in the newly liberated areas who received socialist education later than others after liberation. Under the circumstances it was imperative to continue to intensify ideological education for the coop members.

Taking this into consideration, our Party intensified the ideological education of all the members of the cooperatives at this stage. In particular, it devoted much effort to the education of the new members.

Our Party explained its policy of cooperation and its mass line to the rich peasants to get them to realize that they could live as well as in the past if they worked faithfully for the cooperatives. For the education of the suburban peasants who had a great deal of small-merchant inclinations, it furnished them with facts proving the correctness of its cooperation policy and the superiority of the agricultural cooperatives so that they might repent of their hesitation in accepting the cooperation and devote themselves to the work of the cooperatives.

It was a very difficult problem to educate and remould the peasants in the newly liberated areas because they

had been influenced by all sorts of misleading anti-socialist propaganda in the southern half under the occupation of the US imperialists.

Our Party, first of all, informed them of the superiority of the socialist system and convinced them of the inevitable fall of capitalism and the sure victory of socialism. At the same time, it imbued them with correct understanding of the validity of its cooperation policy.

The persistent ideological education conducted by our Party throughout the cooperation movement for the consolidation and development of the organized cooperative economy proved to be very important in cementing the politico-ideological foundations of the cooperatives.

Thus, as the socialist transformation of economic sectors was being brought to completion, a great change took place in the ideology and consciousness of the peasants, the comradely relations of helping and pulling each other along were further strengthened among the coop members and all the peasants became true farmers united as one and dedicated to the leader and the Party.

Building up firm rural position acquired a great significance in consolidating the political base of the agricultural cooperatives.

This was important because it would provide the working-class party with a position to rely on in rallying the broad revolutionary masses in the countryside and organizing and mobilizing them in the successful carrying out of the revolution.

Our Party needed the strongholds of rural core elements on whom to rely at all times in its efforts to win over the peasant masses to the side of the revolution, strengthen the worker-peasant alliance and thus consolidate and develop the political position for the new-born socialist cooperative economy.

Our Party improved work among those who were most revolutionary in the countryside—the former hired farm labourers and poor peasants, especially the families of patriotic martyrs, the servicemen's families and the demobilized soldiers—and strove hard to firmly build up its rural position with them at the core.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung instructed:

"...Work among the families of the patriotic martyrs and servicemen must be improved.

"The families of the patriotic martyrs are people who will work most devotedly for our Party, fatherland and the revolution; they form the core of our Party" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, p. 270).

The families of patriotic martyrs and servicemen were those who had been deprived of their kinsmen by the US imperialist aggressors and the class enemies or those whose husbands and children were away at the front. So they had a stronger hatred for the US imperialist aggressors and the class enemies than any other people and constituted the core elements of our Party who were ready to sacrifice themselves for the Party, the leader, the fatherland and the people.

They came mainly from the basic classes and most of them had taken an active part in the agrarian reform after liberation, distinguished themselves as model peasants later in the period of peaceful construction, and exerted all their energies to assist the front during the Fatherland Liberation War.

Their class background and living conditions qualified them as the most dependable core elements of our Party.

Our Party, therefore, strengthened work among them, always took care of their life and the education of their children and actively helped them become a pivot in the work of their cooperatives.

It also saw to it that the families of the patriotic martyrs were educated and trained and actively enlisted in the leadership of the rural Party and social organizations and in the management of the cooperatives.

Thanks to the Party's measure, many people from the families of the patriotic martyrs and servicemen were promoted to the leadership of the Party and social organizations and the management bodies of the cooperatives, and also active social assistance was rendered to them.

As a result, they worked with greater enthusiasm, enjoyed greater confidence and higher prestige in the community, and the rural position gradually became stronger.

Proper work among the demobilized soldiers was also important for a stronger rural position.

The demobilized soldiers were the core elements in the countryside. During the severe Fatherland Liberation War they had fought self-sacrificingly for the fatherland and the people in response to the Party's call, and they had been tempered through the army life. Particularly because our countryside was short of manpower of young and middle-aged people in those days they were an invaluable treasure in the countryside.

Therefore, our Party dispatched more demobbed soldiers to the countryside while at the same time taking a number of measures to improve work with them and get them to settle down there and play the nuclear role in the cooperatives.

In June 1955 the Fifth Session of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee took steps to demobilize part of young and middle-aged soldiers from the People's Army and send them back to their villages. It also gave the rural Party organizations the task of getting the demobbed soldiers to settle down in the countryside and providing them with all conditions so that they could actively participate in farming work.

Thanks to the measures taken by the Party, many soldiers were demobilized and dispatched to the countryside. Later they played a nuclear role in the cooperatives.

By all this effort to educate and remould the peasants and build up the rural position our Party further consolidated the cooperative economy politically.

ECONOMIC CONSOLIDATION OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE ECONOMY

Strengthening the cooperatives economically, along with their political consolidation, was an important task in consolidating and developing the fledgeling cooperative economy.

The establishment of the agricultural cooperative economy opened up a vista for the development of the joint economy through the elimination of technical backwardness, the extensive introduction of the advanced farming method and the rational use of manpower.

In doing this, the powerful assistance of the state to the cooperative economy played a decisive role.

The establishment of the new cooperative economy was realized within the range of the reorganization of economic modes; its productive forces were still based on the backward technology of the old private peasant economy. Therefore, the consolidation and development of the young cooperative economy inevitably required technical reorganization in keeping with the new mode of the economy.

The technical reorganization of the rural economy was beyond the capability of the cooperatives. It could only be successful when given a powerful material and technical assistance from the state relying on the developing socialist industry.

From the early period of the cooperation movement, our Party strengthened economic assistance to the new-born cooperative economy. This strengthened it materially and technically, promoted the display of its advantages and brought the movement to a victorious conclusion.

What was most important in the economic and organizational consolidation of the agricultural cooperatives was for the state and the whole society to give powerful assistance to them so that they could succeed in farming and rapidly improving the living standards of their members.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The powerful material assistance given by the state to the peasantry, based on rapidly developing socialist industry, strengthened the young agricultural cooperatives which had been organized starting only with poor peasants; it played a decisive role both in proving their superiority over private farming and economically reinforcing the cooperatives which realized a rapid quantitative growth in a short period of time" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. III, p. 64).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out, the powerful guidance and material assistance given by the Party and the state to the young cooperative economy played a decisive role in overcoming all the postwar difficulties and guaranteeing sure victory for the socialist system of agricultural cooperative economy.

Giving an effective material assistance to the socialist cooperative economy through the state is a lofty duty of the working class for discharging its historic mission to lead the peasantry, its most dependable ally, to communist society.

The material support of the working class to the coop farmers was all the more urgent in our country where the rural economy was backward when it was reorganized along socialist lines.

The cooperatives at the initial period comprised the poor peasants who had the least means of farming and living. And because they were incorporated even before they recovered from the war damages, the productive foundation of the cooperatives was very weak and the lives of their members were very difficult. The cooperatives were short of farming implements and draught animals right then and their members had not much food.

In order to consolidate and develop the cooperatives under such circumstances, it was imperative to stabilize first of all the life of their members and ensure the farm work at hand.

To this end, our Party issued a directive of its Central Committee in January 1954, whereby measures were taken to give intensified guidance and assistance for the economic consolidation of the organized cooperatives. The state adopted a Cabinet decision to strengthen its material support to the cooperatives through the loan of provisions and seed grain, preferential supply of fertilizers and farm implements and the loan of farming funds, etc.

Such support of the Party and the state to these cooperatives helped improve the living conditions of their membens and ensure success in their immediate farming work. It also helped the cooperatives gradually to build up their productive foundations and prove the superiority of the collective economy over the private one. As a result, in 1954, a little more than one year after the start of the agricultural cooperation movement, the per-unit-area yield of grain attained by the cooperative economy was 10 to 15 per cent greater than the figure registered by the private peasant economy and the cash income of the former was more than twice as much as the latter.

The success gained by the weak cooperative economy at the experimental stage after overcoming obstacles that cropped up in the early period of agricultural cooperation testified to the wise guidance of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung to the peasants and his noble communist virtue which found expression in his deep concern about the improvement of their lives and his great solicitude for them. The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung put forward a clear-cut policy and concrete ways to consolidate and develop the cooperatives and at the same time personally organized and guided the work in the countryside.

The leader visited Wonhwa-ri, Sunan County, South Pyongan Province, in the very year when he defined the experimental stage of the agricultural cooperation movement and agricultural cooperatives came into being. He sat together with the peasants there like a family gathering and fully acquainted himself with their farming and living conditions. Then he taught them in detail how to consolidate and develop their cooperatives and how to show their advantages.

Such a deep concern and high virtue of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung boundlessly encouraged

the coop members and strengthened their confidence in victory.

The stage of mass-scale development of the agricultural cooperation movement required a further strengthening of the cooperative economy economically.

At this stage, the cooperative economy rapidly increased in numbers, but its qualitative condition was still poor. The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung set forth a wise policy for qualitative consolidation of the cooperative economy side by side with its quantitative growth in the stage of its mass-scale development. To carry it out, he saw to it that the cooperative economy was given powerful material and technical assistance.

In this regard, the Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held in November 1954 had a great significance.

Acting upon the leader's highly important teachings at the plenary meeting and its resolutions, the state preferentially provided the cooperatives with farming tools, fertilizers, breed cattle, good strains of seed and other means of production as well as materials and funds needed for land construction and farming. While ensuring immediate farming work, it rehabilitated the war-damaged farm land, river dykes and irrigation facilities so that the cooperatives might display the superiority of the collective economy.

Later, in June 1955, the leader convened a meeting of the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, where he tentatively reviewed the execution of the resolutions of the Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held in November 1954, and got it to adopt a decision to further increase material support for the cooperatives.

The June 1955 Presidium Meeting of the Party Central Committee took a number of steps to continue to increase the supply of chemical fertilizers and agricultural chemicals needed in farming and ensure timely and planned supply of these and other farming materials and farm machines. It also took steps to provide the cooperatives with a great number of piggies and other domestic animals and work horses at low prices to help them build up firm foundations for animal breeding.

These measures taken by our Party at the stage of mass-scale enrolment under the wise guidance of the leader put the lives of the members of the cooperatives on a firm basis and laid the foundation for further development of agricultural production.

In a little over one year following the November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee the agricultural

cooperatives expanded their cultivated areas by reclaiming and restoring over 10,000 *chongbo* of land. Many of them reaped richer grain harvests than the private farmers. The number of major domestic animals including cattle and pigs increased by more than 40,000 and no small cash income was earned from sidelines. As a result, the income of the cooperatives increased, their material and cultural standards improved gradually, and they were furnished with farm implements and various equipment needed for the joint economy.

The Party, however, could not rest content with the results.

At the time there were no small number of peasants who were yet to be recovered from wartime damage. Under the circumstances, a fundamental problem in consolidating and developing the agricultural cooperatives was to improve the economic conditions of their members.

The December 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee reviewed the carrying out of the resolutions of the November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the same and took measures to continue to strengthen the material support of the state for the agricultural cooperatives.

In line with this, the state took steps to rapidly increase the output and supply of chemical fertilizers which were most important in boosting agricultural production, improve the manufacture of various farm implements and thoroughly organize their supply. Besides, it took measures to establish the system of seed production and selection and raise and supply good strains of seed.

The state also paid close attention to giving support to laying the cooperative economy's bases for animal husbandry and further increased its material and technical assistance, loaning it the fund for procuring cattle, providing it with breed animalls, supplying it with materials for building pens, disseminating technique for breeding domestic animals and establishing the system of veterinary anti-epizootic measures. This led to the rapid development of the joint breeding of domestic animals in the cooperatives and, the sideline breeding of their members, with stress laid on the former.

Along with this, it paid great attention to the development of sericulture of the cooperatives. It provided them with silkworm-rearing rooms and equipment and other facilities needed in joint raising.

Our Party also took measures to give manpower assistance to agricultural cooperatives.

Due to war casualties, our countryside was very short of manpower at the time of cooperation. So, the Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee held in November 1954 and December 1955 took a series of measures to solve the problem of filling up the shortage of rural work force.

According to the measures, the state later allotted tens of thousands of demobilized soldiers and a large number of junior and senior middle school graduates to the countryside. Every year, in the major farming seasons, it mobilized office workers, students and servicemen to give the cooperatives labour assistance amounting to several millions of mandays. In addition to this, it fixed rural labour and rendered necessary assistance to the demobilized soldiers and young people sent to the countryside so that they might lead a secure life.

Our Party also reduced the agricultural tax in kind or exempted cooperatives from the tax and raised the purchase prices of agricultural produce and thus strengthened assistance to the cooperatives.

The December 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee put forward a policy for reassessing the rate of agricultural tax in kind and the purchase prices of agricultural products so as to relieve the peasants of their burden and stabilize their lives.

In line with the Party's policy the state made an overall reexamination of the rate of agricultural tax in kind and passed a law on establishing a new system of agricultural tax in kind under which the cooperatives were to pay 5 per cent less than the private peasants. As for part of impoverished peasants, it took measures to exempt them from agricultural tax in kind, the repayment of loaned grain, bank loans and others.

Besides, the state set higher the purchase prices of the products of the joint efforts of the cooperatives so as to increase their income, and this made their members much more concerned about the joint economy than private sidelines.

These measures taken by the Party and the state not only increased the cooperative farmers' zeal for production but also got them to zealously work with greater interest in the joint economy than in individual sidelines.

As a result, the economic foundation of the cooperatives was laid gradually and their members' livelihood stabilized and improved.

This change demanded that the state support for the cooperative economy be geared to building up the material and

technical foundations of the cooperatives so that the support might fit in with that economy at a higher level.

Accordingly, under the wise leadership of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung our Party concentrated efforts on the building up of the material and technical foundations of the cooperatives in the latter half of the mass-scale development of the agricultural cooperation movement, while continuing to give material support for their immediate farming work.

Building up the material and technical foundations commensurate with the socialist cooperative economy posed as an important question in the economic consolidation of the cooperatives.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught:

"If we are to reorganize agriculture along socialist lines, we must transform its technology as well as its economic modes. Accordingly, we are confronted with an important task for the technical reorganization of agriculture" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, p. 11).

The socialist agricultural cooperative economy strengthens and develops on the basis of the collective labour of the peasants and new technology.

Therefore, it was essential to equip the newly organized cooperative economy with new technology if it was to develop as required by its inherent nature. The fact that the transformation of the modes of the rural economy was effected prior to its technical reorganization made it imperative to proceed to its technical reorganization in order to consolidate and develop the organized cooperatives.

So, our Party strengthened its support to the cooperatives to ensure immediate farming work and stabilize and improve the lives of their members on the one hand, and on the other, actively helped them introduce new technology and build up solid material and technical foundations.

Rapid expansion of irrigation facilities was the first and foremost problem in consolidating the material and technical foundations of the agricultural cooperatives, widely introducing the achievements of advanced science and technology and systematically increasing agricultural production.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught:

"Irrigation works are basic to the technological reformation of agriculture in our country" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 214).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught, the establishment of an irrigation system in agriculture constituted a basic guarantee for rich and stable harvests in farming, because agriculture, unlike industry, is largely dependent on the natural, geographical and climatic conditions. Expansion of irrigation facilities afforded a basic guarantee that the cooperatives would successfully overcome drought and flood damages and gather in abundant and stable harvests, particularly in our country where arable land was limited, climatic conditions were peculiar, and rice cultivation requiring water most profusely held a large proportion in grain production.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung defined irrigation as the task of highest priority in the technological reformation of agriculture with a view to paving the road for the future development of the cooperative economy and satisfying the ardent desire of the peasants for water. He personally fixed the sites for reservoirs and pumping stations on the spot and taught in detail how to build them. In this way he made every effort to realize the technological transformation of agriculture.

Taking into consideration the level of our industrial development and the actual conditions of the countryside in the postwar days, our Party put forward the policy of carrying out large-scale irrigation projects and medium and small-scale irrigation works at the same time and energetically implemented this policy.

The November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee adopted a policy for organizing and carrying out medium and small-scale irrigation works and river improvement projects through an all-people movement, along with large-scale state-financed irrigation works, and took measures to push ahead with it forcefully. The December 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee set forth the task for expansion of irrigation and riparian facilities and ensuring thorough maintenance and management of the existing ones. In accordance with the Party's policy, the state appropriated 57 per cent of the total state investments in agriculture to irrigation projects and river improvement works in the postwar five years.

The state directly undertook large-scale irrigation projects and at the same time provided the cooperatives with cement, structural steel, pumping machines and motors needed for me-

dium and small-scale irrigation and riparian works so that every two or three of these cooperatives might carry them out with joint efforts.

Besides, it saw to it that the maintenance and operation system for the existing irrigation facilities was established so that they could be regularly repaired and better managed.

As a result, during the five years of the cooperation movement the acreage of irrigated paddies doubled, and 91 per cent of the total area of paddies were completely brought under irrigation. Along with the expansion of irrigated areas, river-dyke and erosion control works and afforestation work were widely carried out, with the result that more than 350,000 *chongbo* of farm land was protected from flood and tidewater damage.

The measures taken by the Party and the state not only strengthened the material and technical foundations of the cooperative economy but also greatly promoted the steady growth of agricultural production and the technical revolution as a whole in the rural economy.

Active introduction of new kinds of farm machines into agricultural production and the expansion and strengthening of the network of farm-machine hire stations were also important in extensively introducing new technique and building up the cooperatives' material and technical foundations to suit the cooperative economy.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught:

"The farm-machine hire stations should become important bases for consolidating and developing the agricultural cooperatives and transforming agriculture on socialist lines" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. IV, 1960, p. 498).

The farm-machine hire stations helped overcome the shortage of draught animals and the backwardness of farm implements in the countryside, gradually mechanize farming, make the farm work easier for the peasants and markedly increase labour productivity. They also brought home to the peasants the superiority of agricultural cooperative economy and advanced technique, strengthened the economic ties between town and country and enabled the state to intensify its guidance for the development of agriculture. In particular, they played a decisive role in developing production in the agricultural cooperatives.

Therefore, under the intelligent guidance of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party and state

set up farm-machine hire stations in early days and directed deep attention to their expansion and consolidation. In particular, when the agricultural cooperation movement started, they took a series of measures to improve and strengthen the work of farm-machine hire stations under the favourable condition provided by the collective economy.

The November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee took a number of steps to improve and strengthen the work of the farm-machine hire stations.

After this, the number of the farm-machine hire stations increased sharply. In 1955 it was three times as many as in 1953, and the number of tractors (in terms of 15 hp) 3.9 times.

These stations set up in different parts of the country mainly undertook ploughing and hauling operations, the most difficult jobs for coop members. In this way they not only overcame the shortage of manpower and draught animals in the countryside in those days but also considerably relieved the coop farmers from backbreaking work and greatly contributed to the growth of agricultural production.

In the early period, however, the farm-machine hire stations were operated for limited jobs and in limited range, their material and technical foundations were still weak, and the operation rate of tractors, too, was low.

The December 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee set forth the task of gradually increasing the items and scope of mechanized work.

Thereafter, the network of farm-machine hire stations expanded continually. In 1958, the year of completion of agricultural cooperation, the area worked with tractors was 12 times greater than in 1953, and the material and technical foundations of the farm-machine hire stations were markedly strengthened.

In order to expand mechanized work it was important to rezone the land properly. Therefore, while expanding the network of farm-machine hire stations and strengthening them, our Party took steps to carry out land rezoning projects and increase the efficiency of mechanized operation of tractors for the undertaking.

Thus, the farm-machine hire stations showed the peasants the practical advantages of the agricultural cooperative economy and advanced technique through their day-to-day activities. This stimulated the peasants to actively introduce advanced technique and inspired them with greater confidence in the victory of the cooperative economy. Moreover, the farm-machine hire sta-

tions played a decisive role in effectively realising the material and technical assistance of the state to the cooperative economy, in developing production in the cooperatives and strengthening their material and technical foundations.

The draught-animal hire stations, along with the farm-machine hire stations, played an important part in the consolidation and development of the agricultural cooperative economy. In the early days of cooperation they mainly covered the shortage of draught animals in the cooperatives and thus greatly contributed to shoring up the economically weak cooperatives.

In introducing new farm machines, it was important for the agricultural cooperatives to make an active use of medium and small farm machines as well as tractors and other modern farm machines, because the level of our industrial development at that time was not high enough to permit a full-scale introduction of modern farm machines at once.

Therefore, while expanding and strengthening the networks of farm-machine hire stations and draught-animal hire stations, our Party laid down the policy of widely using medium and small farm machines and implements for agricultural production and actively pushed ahead with the production and improvement of different types of these machines and implements.

As a result, each cooperative laid foundations for gradually mechanizing all the farming operations by combined use of tractors and simple medium and small farm machines.

In order to build up the material and technological foundations of the cooperative economy and bring about continuous growth in agricultural production it was important to widely disseminate advanced farming methods.

The cooperation of agriculture offered a very favourable condition for the introduction of advanced farming methods. The cooperation of agriculture and planned management of the economy provided the possibility of actively introducing new farming methods which had been practically impossible at the time of private peasant economy.

Turning these favourable conditions to account, our Party saw to it that the principle of the right crops on the right soil was applied to the distribution of crops and the system of producing and popularizing good strains of seeds established. In this way, it ensured that readily acceptable farming methods were zealously introduced and generalized in the initial period and then new farming technique was gradually and widely disseminated and popularized in agricultural production.

One of the important principles followed by our Party in the introduction of new farming technique was to strictly abide by our Juche stand at all times.

Our Party activated the peasants and agricultural scientists to the introduction of new farming methods suited to the climatic and topographical features and the rural conditions of our country.

As a result, in 1958 the cold-bed seedling, an advanced method, was introduced into 50 per cent of the paddies and the humus-cake cotton seedling method was applied to 70 per cent of the total area sown to cotton. The area under maize, a high-yield crop, increased 350 per cent in 1958 as against 1953, and the utilization rate of land rose from 125 to 161 per cent in the same period.

For a wide introduction and application of new technique in the cooperatives it was essential to disseminate advanced technique and train technicall personnel.

A large number of agro-technicians as well as national cadres were trained in our country in those days by dint of the far-sighted educational policy of the Party and the Government. But the leaping development of our national economy and the sharp increase in the number of agricultural cooperatives required many more agricultural technicians. In particular, the rapid progress of technical reformation in keeping with agricultural cooperation demanded greater number of agro-technicians and a high technical level on the part of the peasants.

In compliance with this demand, our Party set up cooperative technicians training centres in different provinces and organized short courses to teach elementary agro-technique to those selected from among the cooperative members and equipped with knowledge of the middle school level.

The training centres taught the method of introducing cold-bed seedlings, advanced method of maize cultivation, the use of advanced farm machines and agricultural chemicals and other easy-to-acquire agro-technical knowledge needed for agricultural production. They also taught the rudiments of botany, pedology, agriculture, zootechny, pomiculture, sericulture and apiculture.

Meanwhile, the Party got middle school graduates to settle down in the countryside, let the technical study be regularly organized at the cooperatives, centring around those graduates and including the peasants so that they could learn new technique.

In addition, it saw to it that various propaganda media such as publications, radio and films were used and inspection trips were organized and other diverse forms and methods were applied with a view to energetically pushing forward the dissemination of advanced technique among the peasants.

These measures taken by the Party greatly helped not only train many technical personnel in the countryside and raise the technical and cultural levels of the peasants but also free the peasants from conservatism and mystery about technique.

Moreover, the measures taken by the Party and the state to introduce advanced technique into agricultural production further consolidated the material and technical foundations of the cooperatives and developed their joint economy in a many-sided way.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Our cooperative economy has not only displayed its advantages in guaranteeing the rise of grain production but also played a decisive role in the many-sided development of agriculture" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 300).

The manpower saved by the use of advanced machines and various other material and technical means at the cooperatives provided a favourable condition for the many-sided development of their economy.

Taking advantage of this favourable condition, our Party put forward a policy for further diversifying the cooperative economy in conformity to their local features and specific conditions of the cooperatives.

In line with the Party's policy, each cooperative promoted the diversification of its economy, with the result that the auxiliary production branches, which had been no more than sidelines in essence at the early stage of the cooperation movement, developed into major production branches by the stage of completion.

Thus, along with the grain production which is basic to agricultural production, cultivation of industrial crops, vegetable, stockbreeding, fruit growing, sericulture, etc., held a large proportion in the gross output and in the income of the cooperatives, and the diverse demands of the inhabitants for agricultural produce and the requirement of the national economy were met more satisfactorily.

These measures taken by the Party and the state as mentioned above led to the systematic increase in the agricultural production through the consolidation of the material and technical foundations of the newly organized cooperatives and the active introduction of intensive farming method which was adopted by the Party as its basic policy in farming work, thereby bringing the advantages of the socialist cooperative economy into fuller play.

One of the important and imperative tasks for the consolidation and development of the socialist cooperative economy was to build a cultured countryside.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught:

"In anticipation of the gradual expansion of the scale of construction of dwelling houses, creches and various cultural establishments in the countryside with the consolidation and development of the agricultural cooperatives and the increase in the material and cultural demand of the peasant masses, we must render adequate state assistance to this undertaking so as to promote the work" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. IV, 1960, p. 497).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught, in order to consolidate and develop the agricultural cooperative economy and meet the ever-growing material and cultural needs of the peasants, it was imperative to vigorously carry on rural cultural construction and give state assistance to this work.

A large quantity of materials, funds and manpower as well as a certain period of time were needed to turn our countryside, which had been very backward and particularly devastated in the war, into a new modern socialist countryside.

Our Party, therefore, saw to it that the main stress was laid on productive construction and at the same time the building of a modern cultured countryside proceeded gradually on the strength of the powerful material and technical assistance of the state and the positive efforts of the coop members.

The state provided them with a large amount of materials and funds and technical assistance on the one hand and, on the other, let the cooperatives actively carry on rural construction by widely using locally available materials.

Thus, after the start of the cooperation movement many dwelling houses, creches, kindergartens, clinics and other establishments needed for the life of the coop members were rapidly built in the countryside.

But, as the economic foundations of the cooperatives were gradually strengthened and their members' lives improved, they needed more handsome, useful modern houses and educational, cultural, health and welfare establishments.

In order to satisfy this demand, rural construction had to be carried out more vigorously, and every dwelling house and establishment to build for the peasants in the countryside be convenient, durable and handsome.

The Third Congress of our Party held in April 1956 set forth the task of stepping up rural construction in keeping with the demand of the developing reality in the countryside by actively exploring local materials as well as using state supplies.

Afterwards, modern houses were built in greater numbers in the cooperative farms with the materiall and technical assistance of the state and their own efforts, and various cultural and welfare establishments set up for the convenience of the coop farmers.

Rural clinics were expanded so that medical service for the peasants improved.

Rural creches and kindergartens were built up better, enabling the mothers to take part in production without worry and their children to grow up better collectively.

Many modern houses, schools and clubhouses were built in our countryside. Clinics were set up in all cooperatives, and villages were provided with creches, kindergartens, bathhouses and barbershops which were widely used to make the lives of coop farmers cultured.

The shabby huts which had been used by our peasants for thousands of years in the past disappeared and a new modern countryside was built up in a very short period of time following the war. This was associated with the deep solicitude and high virtues of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung who is always concerned about the happy life of the peasants.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung gave the orientation of building a modern countryside and took steps to carry it out in a positive way. Busy as he was with state affairs, he personally visited the rural construction sites on many occasions, fixed the sites for modern rural villages and exhorted that the socialist countryside should be built more beautifully and neatly.

While on the rural construction sites, the leader had conversations with the peasants, teaching them that they should build modern rural houses handsomely for the convenience of their day-to-day life and that their houses were fenced, and provided with fruit gardens, stables and ash storages.

These deep solicitude and fatherly love of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung for the peasants turned our backward countryside into a beautiful one good to live in and inspired the peasants with new hopes and national pride.

In order to build a modern countryside it was also important to improve the health and hygienic conditions of the peasants.

Our Party set forth the pollicy of improving and strengthening the health service and hygienic work in the countryside, applied free medical care system to the coop farmers as was the case with the factory and office workers, and saw to it that the creches and kindergartens in the cooperatives were run at their common expense.

In addition, it made sure that the women coop members were granted paid maternity leave for ample rest.

In building a modern countryside it was also necessary to raise the level of general and technical knowledge of the coop members.

Without this it would have been impossible to introduce new techniques into agricultural production or build a modern countryside.

Thanks to the far-sighted measure of our Party, adult education had long been carried on vigorously in our country and universal compulsory primary education was enforced in 1956.

As a result, the level of general knowledge of the peasants rose rapidly and the younger generation was all given school education. In order to actively introduce new techniques and build a modern countryside to fit in with the socialist cooperative economy, it was necessary for all the peasants to acquire general knowledge above that of junior middle school graduates and specific farming technique.

Our Party, therefore, set forth the task of establishing and properly running working people's schools and working people's middle schools in the cooperatives.

According to the Party's policy, these schools were widely set up in the agricultural cooperatives, providing numerous coop members with an opportunity of studying. Along with this, coop members were enrolled in the correspondence courses of education to be trained into technical personnel, and mass campaign was launched to acquire new technique through intensified technical study.

While raising the level of general and technical knowledge of the coop members, it was also important to make their life cultured in all aspects.

The social and economic progress demanded a cultured way of life for the people. But all sorts of outdated ways of life and customs from old society survived a great deal in the countryside.

Therefore, it was indispensable to wipe them out to build a modern countryside.

Our Party carried on a mass campaign to eliminate all the backward modes of life and customs in the countryside and transform all aspects of the peasants' life in a cultured manner. This led the coop members to struggle to eliminate all the uncivilized and unhygienic practices in the countryside and make their homes and villages more neat and tidy and beautiful as they should as socialist working people.

Besides, it took steps to push forward the mass cultural work in the countryside, including the organization and operation of sports, cultural and art circles.

The measures taken by our Party and state to consolidate the cooperative economy economically and build up a modern countryside scored an enormous success in converting our countryside into a socialist modern countryside and remoulding the peasants into the new socialist working people.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE MANAGEMENT AND OPERATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

To raise the level of management and operation of the agricultural cooperative economy was of great significance in further strengthening the fledgeling agricultural cooperatives organizationally and economically.

The agricultural cooperative economy as a large-scale socialist economy required its own way of management and operation. All the productive activities and operation such as the planned organization of production and the administration of manpower and property are conducted through the management work. Accordingly, success in organizational and economic consolidation of the cooperative economy depends largely on the level of management of the cooperatives.

The new-born cooperative economy, though socialist, was no more than a collective economy organized by the scattered erstwhile private peasants. The members of the cooperatives

were still inexperienced in the operation of the socialist collective economy.

Under the circumstances, improvement in the management and operation of the cooperatives could not but be a decisive factor in their consolidation and development.

Our early cooperatives were very low in their level of management and operation. They lacked socialist order and system in management and operation, and the collective labour and the management of common property were much influenced by desultoriness and disorder from the private peasant economy of the past.

Under the condition, to raise the level of management and operation of the cooperatives was an urgent problem to be solved without fail in strengthening the new-born cooperative economy organizationally and economically. This could only be solved by the powerful guidance and assistance of the state.

Experience proves that only by the effective guidance and assistance of the Party and the state can the level of management and operation of the cooperative economy be raised and that only when this is done can the agricultural cooperatives be consolidated and developed as a large-scale socialist economy.

The primary task in raising the level of management and operation of the cooperatives and consolidating and developing the newly established cooperative economy organizationally and economically was to properly build up the ranks of management personnel.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught:

"...What should be done to further strengthen the cooperatives?

"First, we should properly select management cadres for the cooperatives, settle them down and tirelessly educate them" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. V, 1965, pp. 21-22).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught, the most important task for improving the management of the cooperatives was to select fine personnel, build up the ranks of management cadres of the cooperatives well and educate and train them so that they could perform their duties properly.

The problem of management personnel of the cooperatives was raised as a serious one in our country where the backward private peasant economy had prevailed and no one had had experience in the management of a modern large-scale economy.

The newly organized cooperative economy embraced only

the poor peasants, and none of them knew well how to manage it. The cooperative members were not fully informed of the rudimentary norms to be observed in the collective life and their ideology and consciousness were still in the fetter of the private peasant economy of the past. Of course, those peasants who joined the cooperatives in early days were mainly the rural core elements and they all were the first to awaken.

However, in order to properly manage the newly emerged large-scale socialist collective economy, they needed ability to run the economy, to say nothing of political enthusiasm.

Under the wise guidance of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party paid deep attention to the problem of management cadres from the early stage of cooperation and took a number of measures to select fine people who were loyal to the Party and train them to be management workers for the cooperatives.

According to the decision of the November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, it saw to it that the training courses for cooperative management personnel were set up in agricultural colleges, agricultural specialized schools and in the provincial cadres' training schools and, at the same time, short courses were opened in different parts of the country to train and reeducate management personnel.

Meanwhile, it selected coop members who were politically prepared in a certain degree, staffed the management committees with them and trained them through practical work. And they were sent to specialized training schools in turn for refresher training as soon as their trained replacements were ready.

Thanks to the measure taken by the Party a large number of management personnel were trained in a short span of time.

But, how to meet the quickly growing demand for the management cadres of cooperatives became a serious question when the cooperation movement entered the stage of mass development in 1955 and many new cooperatives were organized everywhere.

The Presidium of the Party Central Committee took a series of measures in June 1955 to solve the question. For instance, it saw to it that some 2,000 fine cadres were selected from among government workers and sent to cooperatives, and at the same time, the rural middle school graduates were assigned to jobs in the countryside and given short courses in bookkeeping and statistics, to reinforce the management staffs.

As a result, the cooperatives were replenished with a large

number of management cadres and measures were also taken to improve their qualification in the latter part of the mass-development stage of the cooperative movement.

The December 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee set forth the policy on improving the qualitative composition of the management cadres, heightening their political and professional qualifications and selecting them from among the local people as far as possible.

This policy of the Party was well-timed and correct. Thanks to the far-sighted steps taken by our Party to build up the ranks of management cadres for the cooperatives from the beginning of the cooperation movement, great many people from among the peasants were trained to be cadres by the end of 1955.

Under such condition, the staffing of the management with its local cadres would provide the management the possibility of fully understanding the local farming situation and actual conditions of the cooperative farmers as well as the chance of winning greater confidence.

The intensive guidance given by thousands of central and local cadres to the cooperatives once or twice a year from early 1955 was of great significance in heightening the political and professional qualifications of the management personnel.

Staying with the farmers at each cooperative farm, the guidance group picked up people, able and loyal to the Party, from among the cooperative farmers, staffed the management board with these people, and zealously helped them elevate their political and professional levels.

The guidance group explained, first of all, the teachings of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung on agriculture and the Party's policy of cooperation to the managerial personnel so that everyone of them could clearly understand his position and mission.

They also taught them in detail how to run a cooperative, that is, how to draw up the plan, how to organize and administer manpower, how to do bookkeeping, how to make income distribution, and so on.

The guidance group, together with the management workers, went deep among the cooperative farmers. Working with the farmers, they helped them solve their problems in life and work and correct their mistakes. By showing examples in this way, they helped the management workers carry out the tasks of their cooperatives with credit.

In this course the management staffs were gradually rein-

forced with local cadres who enjoyed deep confidence among the farmers, and had great enthusiasm for work and rich experience in farming. Their political level and working abilities were also enhanced.

Another important thing in elevating the level of cooperative management was to lead them to strictly observe the democratic principle of management as required by the rules.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said: **"We must enlist the masses of cooperative members widely in management so that they freely advance their views as masters of the cooperatives, criticize shortcomings and, united as one in thought and purpose, display greater activity and creativity in all work"** (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 325).

In this teaching the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung clearly pointed out the significance and essence of the democratic principle of management of cooperatives.

The agricultural cooperative was a collective economy organized according to the voluntary will of the working farmers. It was, therefore, necessary to properly manage it in a democratic way to suit its natural requirement, and to this end, the rules for the cooperative were indispensable.

As the norms of the collective life of its members, the rules of an agricultural cooperative had to be adopted at its supreme body, the general membership meeting, by the democratic will of its members.

In order to help the cooperative economy develop as a sound socialist economy, it was necessary for the Party and the state to provide it with the standard rules applicable to all cooperatives.

So our Party took a step to work out the standard rules for the newly organized agricultural cooperatives, which would serve as a standard for each of the cooperatives in adopting its own rules suitable to its actual situation.

According to the step taken by the Party, in October 1954 the state formulated the standard rules of agricultural cooperatives tentative, sent them to every cooperative and had them brought home to its members. After collective discussion of the standard rules by the cooperative farmers each cooperative drafted its own rules suitable to its specific conditions and adopted them as the legal norm of the collective life of its members.

Stipulated in the standard rules of agricultural cooperatives tentative were the character and aim of the cooperative, the

qualifications, rights and duties of the membership, the organs of the cooperative, their duties, etc. The character of the cooperatives was defined as semi-socialist or socialist according to the types of pooling the land and other means of production and the method of income distribution. The aim of the cooperatives, as stipulated, was to lay firm economic foundations of the cooperatives and improve the farmers' living standards by observing the democratic principle of management in accordance with the will of the farmers and quickly developing the collective economy in a planned way, under the guidance of the Party and the Government.

The stipulation also said that all the tillers were qualified for the cooperative membership, that all the cooperative members had equal rights to elect and to be elected to the cooperative leadership and that they were entitled to take an active part in its management and income distribution as formulated in the rules. At the same time, every cooperative member was placed under obligation to strictly observe the rules of his cooperative, participate in collective labour and take good care of the common property.

As for the organs the general membership meeting, the management board and the auditing commission were instituted. The general membership meeting, as the supreme assembly of the cooperative, was given the function of electing and recalling its management board and auditing commission and discussing and deciding on all matters of principle such as production plan, work norms and income distribution. The management board had the duty to organize and execute the work for the management and operation of the cooperative in conformity with the decisions and instructions of the Party and the Government and the resolutions of the general membership meeting; and the auditing commission to control and supervise the work of the management board.

The rules adopted by each cooperative under the wise guidance of our Party correctly reflected its specific conditions as well as all the principles laid down by the state. And all the activities of each cooperative and the collective life of its members were organized according to its rules.

Some cooperatives, however, copied the standard rules mechanically, without considering their specific conditions, and others failed to make distinct the character of the socialist collective economy by arbitrarily defining even the essential matters in contravention of the standard rules formulated by the

state, under the pretext of reflecting the actual conditions of their cooperatives and the will of their members.

In order to rectify the deviations, our Party directed greater efforts to the guidance of these cooperatives and saw to it that every provision of the standard rules was reinculcated on the entire membership and that the rules of these cooperatives were drafted with the help of the guidance personnel in conformity with the standard rules. Thanks to the assistance, correct rules were enforced for the operation of such cooperatives.

As a result, all the agricultural cooperatives were able to develop soundly as socialist collective economy under distinct rules of their own.

For the proper management of the cooperatives as required by the rules, it was most important to give full play, first of all, to the democratic will of the members.

Since the agricultural cooperatives were a collective economy organized by the voluntary will of the working peasants, it was natural that they should be run according to the democratic will of their members.

This was not only a basic principle that should be followed without fail in the management of the agricultural cooperatives but also was essential to soundly developing the newly organized cooperative economy by enlisting the wisdom and creativity of their members.

Hence, from the outset of cooperation, our Party guided and helped them in such a way that the energy and enthusiasm of the cooperative members were fully displayed by actively enlisting the masses of the membership in the management of their cooperatives and encouraging the free expression of their views as the masters of the cooperatives.

The November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee put forward the task of enhancing the role of the management boards and auditing commissions of the cooperatives strictly on the democratic principle of management and directing and helping every cooperative member to take an active part in the management of his cooperative with full sense of responsibility.

Later in February 1955, the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee reiterated that guidance and assistance should be geared to strengthening and developing the cooperatives' management in every way on the democratic principle and stressed that the general membership meeting should be held regularly at each cooperative and its members be informed

in time of its basic tasks and financial and all other affairs.

The Political Committee also stressed that guidance and assistance should be directed to stimulating and developing the spirit of criticism within the cooperatives so as to timely overcome every undesirable practice that might appear within them and prevent the undesirable elements from stealing into or working against the cooperatives, and to encouraging all the cooperative members to participate consciously in the work of their cooperatives with an equal right and obligation.

Afterwards, the guidance and assistance of the Party and the state to the cooperatives was further intensified, democracy fully displayed at cooperatives and the willing enthusiasm and the sense of responsibility of their members further enhanced.

But some cooperatives revealed undesirable practices; they failed to strictly observe their rules and establish the democratic principle of management, and their members lacked the sense of responsibility.

Some other cooperatives failed to regularly hold the general membership meeting and properly run the management board as required by their rules, and some management personnel ignored the collective wisdom and constructive suggestions of the cooperative members and disposed of the important problems of the cooperatives in an arbitrary way.

There were cases in which management functionaries sold or bought at will the important common property of cooperatives or lent a huge amount of cooperative funds to individuals, causing confusion in the management of cooperatives, or increased nonproductive manpower in an unprincipled manner. A certain chairman of the management board even arbitrarily disposed of such an important matter as the admission and expulsion of cooperative members.

Such practices occurred because the democratic principle of management was not strictly observed at the cooperatives where their members were still unawakened and their managerial personnel had low politico-ideological consciousness and working ability.

The December 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee took a number of measures to direct and help the cooperatives to thoroughly establish the democratic principle in management, while strengthening the politico-ideological work among the cooperative members to awaken them and vigorously stepping up the work of improving the political and professional qualifications of the management personnel.

Thus, the guidance and assistance of the Party and the state to the cooperatives were further intensified and the democratic principle of management gradually established at the cooperatives. The cooperative members came to pay deeper attention to the management of their cooperatives and take an active part in it, displaying all their energy and creativeness.

As a result, order was gradually established in the management of the cooperatives, and willing enthusiasm and creativeness heightened among the cooperative members.

Proper management of the cooperatives on the democratic principle and the establishment of the socialist principle and order in their management, that is, the establishment of discipline in planning and the order in the management of manpower and property and the strict observance of the socialist principle in income distribution, etc.—all this was essential to improving cooperative management and consolidating and developing the newly formed cooperatives organizationally and economically.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said: **"What is of decisive significance in consolidating and developing agricultural cooperatives is to establish the socialist principle and order within them"** (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Writings,* Korean ed., Vol. VI, 1960, p. 496).

The agricultural cooperative as part of the socialist economy strongly required that it should organize and carry on all its work in a planned way under the unitary planning system of the state, and that it should strictly adhere to the socialist principle in all its management affairs including manpower and property administration and income distribution.

This was the demand emanating from the socialist character of the agricultural cooperative economy. Unless this demand was fully met in the cooperative management, it was impossible to enhance the level of the cooperative management, to consolidate and develop the cooperatives organizationally and economically and, furthermore, to demonstrate the superiority of the large-scale socialist economy.

Hence, our Party paid deep attention to firmly establishing the socialist principle and order in the cooperative management from the first days of cooperation. To this end, it took a series of organizational steps, sending down all the necessary regulations to the cooperatives on the one hand and intensifying guidance to them on the other. This enabled all the cooperatives to be managed and operated as befitting the socialist economy.

Our Party stepped up its guidance and assistance to the

agricultural cooperatives, paying close attention, first of all, to leading them to manage all their activities in a planned way.

The cooperative agriculture, a socialist economy developing within the general context of the progress of the national economy, was required to keep all its economic activities under plan — not only production but also distribution, exchange and consumption.

Therefore, in order to establish the socialist order and system in the management of the agricultural cooperative, it was most important to conduct all its management work under its plan without fail.

In order to ensure the planned development of the cooperative economy, the November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee raised the task of giving planned state assignments to each agricultural cooperative and directing and helping it to correctly draw up its plan for production, materials, manpower and fund in accordance with the state assignment. It also took measures to strengthen guidance and assistance to the cooperatives to carry out their assignments without fail.

According to the measures taken by the Party, the state gave planned assignments to each agricultural cooperative from 1955, assignments covering agricultural and animal products and even sideline production, in keeping with its natural and economic conditions and the demand of the national economy and gave guidance and assistance to it to successfully carry out the plan.

Every year the state issued written directions and forms for the cooperatives to help them draw up scientific and positive plans which would bring interests both to the state and themselves in proper proportion, by making the most of their reserves and potentialities. It also sent many national and local planning workers to them to give an active help in their planning work.

In directing the planning at the agricultural cooperatives, the state, considering the political level and practical ability of their management personnel, organized planning demonstration lectures at a few cooperatives selected on a regional basis, and generalized the experience acquired therefrom. In the demonstration lectures, the attendants were first taught how to draw up plans in what order, and stress was laid on getting the entire cooperative members acquainted with our Party's policy and orientation of planning so that they would be able to map out all their plans in accord with the demand of the Party policy

and the requirements of the state and on the basis of the correct calculation of their specific conditions and real possibilities. Besides, the cooperatives were led and helped to exactly carry out their plans and sum up the results in time.

Such guidance and assistance from the state made it possible to timely rectify deviations which were manifested in mapping out plans at some cooperatives where the managerial workers overemphasized their local interests oblivious of the state demand or clung to their wishful desire, ignoring creative suggestions of the cooperative members.

As a result, each cooperative became able to organize, implement and sum up all its work in a planned way. In drawing up its plan, it came to fully reflect the intentions of the Party and the state and tap all its reserves and possibilities to the maximum.

In order to establish the socialist order and system in the agricultural cooperatives it was also essential to properly allocate labour and strictly adhere to the socialist principle in remuneration.

The rational allocation of labour in the agricultural cooperatives and the correct assessment of work done on the basis of the set work norms were important in establishing the socialist principle of labour management and increasing the cooperative members' zeal for production.

All work in the cooperative farming is done on a collective basis unlike in the individual peasant farming. This naturally requires the meticulous labour allocation and the right assessment of work done. Only when this requirement is met, it is possible to enhance the cooperative members' zeal for production and display the superiority of the cooperative farming.

Hence, the November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee set a number of tasks for the correct assessment of work-points at the cooperatives.

Accordingly, the state fixed in grades the work norms for farming, stockbreeding, fruit growing, silk raising and all the other work items for the cooperatives. Then all the cooperatives were directed to set their work norms with the state ones as standard and apply them correctly.

The state also worked out the written directions about labour allocation and remuneration and the regulations relating to the remuneration to be paid to the management workers and workteam heads for their work and helped the cooperatives strictly execute them. This enabled each cooperative to rationally form its permanent workteams and correctly pay for work done according to its quantity and quality.

The steps taken by the state, following the policy advanced by the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, rendered it possible to successfully overcome the deviations that were manifested in labour allocation and remuneration in the incipient period of cooperation.

At that time, quite a few cooperatives had no well-organized permanent workteams and expended a lot of labour for nonproductive purposes. There appeared a practice of the equalitarian assessment of cooperative members' workdays. There occurred many instances of unfaithful approach to collective labour among the cooperative members.

These tendencies manifested in the newly formed cooperative were overcome with the correct guidance and assistance of the Party and the state after the November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, and a new system and order established in the work of labour management.

But some cooperatives were committing deviations in labour allocation and remuneration even when the cooperation movement entered the last stage of its mass development.

This demanded that the Party and the state further increase their guidance and assistance, in this undertaking.

Doing this was all the more necessary in view of the anticipated swell in the number of new cooperatives.

So the December 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee indicated concrete ways to improve the organization of permanent workteams and the assessment of workpoints according to the quantity and quality of work done, on the basis of the exact work norms.

Later the state enacted the regulations with regard to the material premium and compensation systems as well as those with regard to labour allocation and remuneration for stockbreeding and silk raising, and directed and helped the cooperative to strictly observe those regulations.

The state also enforced the regulations relating to the remuneration of the management workers and workteam heads to make them participate in the productive labour in their cooperatives.

The steps taken by our Party and state and their guidance and assistance led the cooperatives step by step to have well-knit order in their labour management.

Another important thing in establishing socialist system

and order in the management of cooperatives was to properly conduct financial administration.

The common property of the agricultural cooperatives forms their material foundation laid by their members' joint labour and the state assistance; it is an economic wherewithal for enlarged reproduction at cooperatives and for better livelihood of their members.

To increase joint accumulation at the agricultural cooperatives and thoroughly establish the order of property management and the system of bookkeeping was of weighty significance in consolidating the cooperatives organizationally and economically and in improving the life of their members systematically.

Our Party, therefore, took a number of measures to ensure proper balance between accumulation and consumption in income distribution and establish order in bookkeeping and in the management of common property at the agricultural cooperatives.

The November 1954 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee set forth the task of introducing the bookkeeping system and training bookkeepers for the cooperative farms. In February 1955 the Political Committee of the Party Central Committee raised the task of directing and helping the cooperatives to increase their common property and take good care of it.

And then, in consideration of the professional level of the management personnel of the agricultural cooperatives in those days, the state set up the abridged, single or double entry system and issued the relevant explanatory notes, various kinds of account books and forms in a uniform way in order to let each cooperative introduce an accounting system suitable to its specific conditions.

Besides, the state issued the instructions for financial administration and taught the cooperatives the procedure and method of account settlement in kind and cash so as to establish the order of financial administration. Every year the state regularly trained the financial workers of the cooperatives and reeducated them to increase their working ability.

These state measures enabled the cooperatives to gradually establish the order of bookkeeping and the system of property control, and put an end to the disorder in the management of common property and the practices of its misappropriation and waste, which had been manifested in some cooperatives.

Yet, even when the cooperative movement entered the latter

part of the mass-development stage, quite a few cooperatives were at a low level in bookkeeping and property management and failed to keep proper balance between accumulation and consumption in income distribution to suit their circumstance. This made it incumbent upon the cooperatives to improve the order of bookkeeping and property management and redress the balance.

The December 1955 Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee advanced before the cooperatives the task of establishing the system of bookkeeping, improving the management of common property and maintaining the balance between accumulation and consumption in income distribution. It took a step to intensify guidance and assistance to the cooperatives in this respect.

The state made the guidance personnel at the cooperatives direct and help all their members to launch a powerful struggle to protect and economize in their common property, while explaining to them the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's teachings and the Party's policy with regard to financial administration and informing them of the relevant regulations.

At the same time, steps were taken to strengthen the function of financial control and regularly conduct financial inspection for the cooperatives to prevent waste and accidents in financial affairs.

The state also directed deep attention to the year-end account settlement and income distribution at the cooperatives and gave guidance and assistance in this work.

The correct account settlement and income distribution at the cooperatives was of weighty importance to accurately summing up their yearly economic activities and successfully ensuring their next year's farming and to maintaining a good balance between accumulation and consumption and properly applying the socialist principle of distribution.

The account settlement and income distribution at cooperatives were also a difficult and complicated business through which the results of the year's productive efforts and the members' annual work-points were summed up and shares distributed.

That was why the state gave them an orientation and instructions on this work and arranged short courses at the time of account settlement every year.

At the same time, the state selected competent economic

workers from among central and local personnel and sent them to the cooperative where they would explain the orientation and instructions for account settlement and distribution to the cooperative members, acquainting them with all the other necessary information relevant to the task and helping them in such practical affairs as the assessment of products and work-points and the preparation of balance sheets. This ensured the correct account settlement and income distribution. With the improvement in the living standards of the cooperative members, the state directed and helped them to make the balance between accumulation and consumption by way of gradually increasing the former in account settlement.

Thanks to such guidance and assistance of the Party and the state, each cooperative came to establish a correct balance between accumulation and consumption, increase its common property gradually, strengthen the order of bookkeeping and property management and establish the socialist order and system in financial administration.

As a result, the level of management and operation of the cooperatives was enhanced, the newly formed cooperatives strengthened organizationally and economically and the living standards of the cooperative farmers improved steadily.

THE MERGER OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES INTO ONE FOR EACH RI, AND INCREASE IN THEIR SIZE

In consolidating the cooperative economy politically and ideologically, organizationally and economically it was highly important to amalgamate cooperatives into one for each ri and enlarge their size.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"It became necessary to enlarge the size of the agricultural cooperatives through amalgamation in order to successfully carry out the urgently needed technical revolution in the countryside and further develop the productive forces in agriculture" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 303).

On completion of the organizing of cooperatives, the cooperative economy was confronted with an urgent task to push forward technological transformation in keeping with the reorganized mode of economy by promoting the technical revolution on the strength of the superiority of the socialist relations of production.

In our country the reorganization of economic modes was carried out in a brief period of time prior to technological transformation and, accordingly, the level of technical equipment of the organized cooperatives had to be quickly enhanced to fit in with the socialist relations of production.

Most cooperatives were organized small in size because of the low leadership ability of their management staffs and their poor technical equipment. The small size was quite suitable when agricultural cooperation was going on. However, under the new circumstances in which cooperation was completed, the small size became unsuitable for a wide introduction of advanced technology and modern machinery, for an extensive construction, and for the development of a diversified collective farming through rational use of land and manpower; it became a hindrance to the demonstration of the advantages of the large-scale socialist economy.

Hence, our Party saw to it that the cooperatives were enlarged through their merger in order to step up the rural technical revolution and develop the agricultural productive forces on to a higher level.

At the time of our agricultural cooperation movement, efforts were concentrated on the socialist transformation of production relations in accordance with the policy of reorganizing economic modes prior to technological transformation. And stress was laid on consolidating the cooperatives qualitatively through their assiduous management and on the strength of their advantages by adopting small sizes for the cooperatives in view of the inadequate leadership qualifications of the cadres and the low level of the technical equipment of the cooperatives.

When the cooperative movement was widely under way, this was a correct policy because it accelerated the process of cooperation by consolidating the cooperatives politically and ideologically, organizationally and economically as soon as they were formed and bringing forth the superiority of the cooperative economy.

However, the completion of cooperation made it imperative to further consolidate and develop the cooperative economy by rapidly promoting the technical revolution and laying material and technical foundations commensurate with socialism.

This necessitated the merger of the cooperatives to enlarge their size.

When cooperation was over, not only the merger of the cooperatives was raised as an important pressing task, but realistic possibilities came into being for its realization.

Through the agricultural cooperation, the guiding ability of the management personnel was increased, the cooperatives strengthened politically and economically and considerable experience was accumulated in the organization and cooperation of the large-scale cooperative economy.

Based on a comprehensive analysis of these factors our Party took a measure for the merger on completion of agricultural cooperation.

The state's direct guidance and its powerful material assistance to the cooperative economy was essential to accelerating the technical revolution and consolidating and developing the agricultural cooperatives. So, our Party let all the cooperatives in a ri merge into one so that the administrative unit and the economic unit coincided with each other at ri level and that the ri was placed under the direct control and guidance of the county.

This was an important measure to consolidate and develop the cooperatives by increasing the functions of the local Party and government organs in guiding and helping the cooperative economy.

Foreseeing this, our Party had abolished the sub-county, an administrative unit between county and ri, and subdivided the county long ago to enhance its role of leadership over ri.

The amalgamation of the cooperatives on the principle of one for each ri greatly contributed to strengthening the state guidance and assistance to the cooperative economy through the increased role of the county and thus promoting the rural technical revolution and consolidating the cooperatives.

The adoption of small-scale cooperatives for the period of cooperation and the merger of these cooperatives in the following period, an action which had not been permitted while cooperation was under way, proceeded from our Party's basic policy for revolution and construction.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung stressed that in an economically backward country like ours the socialist system should be established quickly by reorganizing economic sectors before technological transformation and, on the strength of its superiority, the revolutionary zeal of the

working people be aroused to vigorously speed up the technical revolution.

Closely following this original policy of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party completed the agricultural cooperation and established the socialist system in the countryside in a short span of time and then set forth the task of the technical revolution without delay and took steps to amalgamate the cooperatives to create necessary conditions for the technical revolution.

In October 1958 the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, at the direct instance of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, saw that the agricultural cooperatives were merged with the administrative district, ri, as the unit and that the chairman of the ri people's committee concurrently assumed the chairmanship of the cooperative management board. This was followed by a Cabinet decision for the successful amalgamation of the cooperatives and a series of relevant state organizational measures.

Also, a step was taken to place the rural consumers' cooperative stores and credit cooperatives under the management of the agricultural cooperatives.

However, it was a very difficult problem to merge the cooperatives because of the difference in their economic foundations and the ideological preparedness of their members. This difficult and complicated task, too, could be successfully carried out only under the wise guidance of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung.

On October 10, 1958, right after the adoption of the decision on the merger of the cooperatives by the Presidium of the Party Central Committee, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung himself went down to Chongsan-ri, Kangso County, and had a heart-to-heart talk with cooperative members there to familiarize himself in detail with the living conditions of the nine cooperatives in the ri. Then, he told them about the significance and advantages of the merger of the cooperatives and even taught them its method.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung always finds himself among the masses to bring into play their wisdom and revolutionary zeal. At the time of the merger of the cooperatives, too, he himself went into the midst of the peasants to arouse them to a vigorous struggle for the implementation of the Party's decision and teach them the concrete ways for it.

Now, the Party and the state made their local bodies conduct political work to get all the cooperative members to participate in the amalgamation of the cooperatives with high political enthusiasm and at the same time make necessary arrangements—confirm the common properties, credit and liabilities of the cooperatives and prepare them for the turnover of major documents.

The state also sent over 8,000 competent personnel to the cooperatives where they explained our Party's policy of amalgamation and its significance among the cooperative members, helping them solve all problems in the amalgamation, including the matters related to the selection of cadres and the ways of merging the means of production.

They also assisted in the successful progress of the transfer of the consumers' cooperatives and credit cooperatives and in the account settlement and income distribution at the existing cooperatives and helped the merged cooperatives thoroughly prepare the following year's farming.

Such precautionary measures of the Party and the state ensured the successful accomplishment of the amalgamation in only one month amid the high political enthusiasm of the cooperative members by preventing possible suspension of production and construction, improper disposition of common property, and other deviations that might occur in some cooperatives during their merger.

As a result the 13,309 agricultural cooperatives were merged into 3,843, and the average number of peasant households grew from 80 to 300 and the acreage of land from 130 to 500 *chongbo* for each cooperative.

The merger also brought about internal changes for the cooperatives.

The kitchen gardens formerly owned by the cooperative members came under the ownership of the cooperatives at their own suggestion, with only the right to cultivation retained by the users. Thus, all the means of production became the common property of the cooperatives.

With the commercial and credit agencies under their control, the agricultural cooperatives became able to coordinate all the economic efforts within the ri, including production, commodity circulation and credit, for the development under a unified plan.

The ranks of cooperative cadres were strengthened and nonproductive manpower reduced markedly.

The newly merged cooperatives came under the new leadership of the selected, excellent cadres—the management personnel who had been trained and tempered at the former cooperatives and the competent administrative workers of the ri.

The merger enabled the agricultural cooperatives to develop their economy in a more diverse way and carry on constructive work even on a large scale and on their own.

These cooperatives found themselves in a better position to apply the principle of right crop on the right soil to wider area for crop distribution, each developing grain production simultaneously with the cultivation of vegetables, industrial crops, fruits, and the raising of livestocks and silkworms, according to its location, climatic and terrain conditions, and organizing sideline production with surplus manpower to further consolidate its economic foundations and systematically increase the income of its members. Besides, the merged agricultural cooperatives could undertake by themselves the formerly inconceivable projects for irrigation and land rezoning, reclamation and conservation in a planned way.

Thus they were able to carry on land rezoning and other rural construction on a full scale, more widely introduce modern farm machinery and advanced farming techniques, use the natural and economic conditions to greater advantage, develop collective farming in a diverse way and energetically carry on construction by making better use of manpower and materials.

Besides, the oneness of the agricultural production unit and the ri administrative unit and the ri people's committee chairman's concurrent assumption of the chairmanship of the cooperative brought the local government organs closer to production and increased their function of guiding economic and cultural construction in the countryside.

All these successes in the merger of the cooperatives owed to our Party which, under the intelligent guidance of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, put forward a correct policy, conducted concrete organizational and political work, took practical measures and properly organized and mobilized the peasants to the work of the merger.

5. THE GREAT VICTORY AND HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION

The agricultural cooperation movement in our country was triumphantly finished in August 1958 under the wise leadership of the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and thanks to the powerful guidance and assistance of the Party and the state and to the heightened political enthusiasm of the peasants inspired by the leadership and assistance.

The agricultural cooperative movement was a great revolution in our countryside, and its triumph meant a brilliant victory for our Party's agricultural policy.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The rapid development of the productive forces, the further consolidation of the cooperative economy, the speedy improvement of the peasants' standards of living and the heightened revolutionary spirit of our peasants—this is the result the victory of agricultural cooperativization and the victory of our Party's agricultural policy have brought to our countryside" (Kim Il Sung, *Selected Works,* Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 303).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said, the victory of the agricultural cooperative movement and that of our Party's agricultural policy brought about a radical change in our countryside in all spheres of life and marked a new historic era in the development of agriculture.

The Juche agricultural policy of our Party at the stage of the socialist revolution rendered it possible to successfully solve all political and economic problems arising in revolution and construction and achieve great victory unprecedented in history.

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE VICTORY OF THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN OUR COUNTRY

The agricultural cooperative movement was generally known as a very complex and difficult revolutionary task because it involved a fundamental change in the life of millions of peasants in all respects.

In our country this complex and difficult revolutionary task was carried out smoothly in a very short period of four to five years. This was a historic victory.

Referring to the factors in the historic victory of the agricultural cooperative movement in our country, the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung had this to say:

"This is attributable to the fact that our Party charted a correct line for the agricultural cooperative movement in our country by linking Marxism-Leninism and the experience of other countries with our country's reality, that it unswervingly struggled to carry out the line, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, and that our peasants actively supported the Party's policy of agricultural cooperativization and enthusiastically took part in this movement" (*ibid.,* pp. 294-95).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said, the decisive factor for the historic victory of our agricultural cooperation movement was, first of all, that our Party had laid down a correct, original line on the agricultural cooperation movement and concentrated all the efforts of the Party and the state on its implementation, energetically organizing and mobilizing the peasant masses for it.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, applying the great Juche idea, proposed an entirely new line of agricultural cooperation, the line of reorganizing the economic sectors of agriculture when virtually no technological transformation had been carried out.

Our Party's line of agricultural cooperation clarified by the leader opened an entirely new path no one had ever beaten.

The agricultural cooperatives organized in our country in accordance with the new line set forth by the leader fully displayed their advantages over the individual peasant economy

although they were based on primitive technique. They created conditions for the wide introduction of the successes in modern science and technology into agriculture.

The leader's new line of agricultural cooperation was a most revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist one which showed the backward agrarian countries the way to transform their agriculture along socialist lines.

The leader also expounded a correct line of class struggle in conformity with the reality of our divided country where the cooperation movement had to be carried out against the resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes and other enemies standing in direct confrontation with us.

While strengthening the political and ideological work among the peasant masses to enhance their socialist consciousness and revolutionary vigilance, our Party organized and launched a mass movement against counterrevolution and at the same time correctly carried out the class policy of relying firmly on the poor peasants, strengthening alliance with the middle peasants, and restricting and remoulding the rich peasants.

Our Party exposed and smashed every subversive and sabotaging move of the class enemy at each step. It persuaded into cooperatives some middle peasants who wavered in the cooperation movement and, as for the rich peasants, it strictly restricted their exploitative tendency, and remoulded those who tried to work honestly into socialist working people, while applying due sanctions against the handful of those who went against the cooperation movement. Thus, it brought the cooperative movement to successful conclusion.

It is precisely our Party's correct strategic and tactical policy that ensured the sound development and the historic victory of the agricultural cooperative movement.

Another factor for the historic victory of the agricultural cooperation movement in our country was that our Party, throughout the whole period of the movement, overcame every indication of deviations at the opportune moment, and gave full play to the heightened zeal of the peasants, relying firmly on the core elements in the rural areas.

The whole process of the cooperative movement involved an energetic struggle against the manifestations of impetuosity and conservatism, though not widespread, and a struggle to expose and smash the machinations of the anti-Party counterrevolutionary factionalists and dogmatists affected with flunkeyism

who were sceptical about the Party's line of cooperation and opposed it covertly and overtly.

Through these struggles, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasants was heightened and their activity brought into full play in the agricultural cooperation movement.

GREAT SUCCESS IN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION IN OUR COUNTRY AND INDESTRUCTIBLE VITALITY OF OUR PARTY'S AGRICULTURAL POLICY AT THE STAGE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung's new line of agricultural cooperation was splendidly translated into reality under his wise leadership and its indestructible vitality demonstrated in life.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out:

"The great success in agricultural cooperativization in our country and the indestructible vitality of our Party's agricultural policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles found vivid expression in the rapid development of our agriculture in the postwar period" (*ibid.*, p. 298).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said, the great success in agricultural cooperation and the invincible vitality of our Party's agricultural policy were vividly manifested in the rapid strengthening and leaping advance of our agriculture which was in an extremely difficult situation in the postwar period.

The most important task confronting agriculture in the postwar years was to solve the food problem for the population by rapidly increasing grain production.

The fundamental problem in carrying out this task was to free the agricultural productive forces from the shackles of the old relations of production and develop agriculture rapidly in a planned way on the basis of the new socialist production relations along with industry.

This very problem was successfully solved through agricultural cooperation.

The agricultural cooperative economy sharply increased its productive forces with the powerful assistance from the Party

and the state and on the basis of the new, superior socialist relations of production and thus brought about a great upswing in all branches of agriculture including grain production.

The sociallist cooperative economy was really a vital guarantee for overcoming all obstacles and difficulties in agriculture in the postwar period and rapidly restoring and developing its productive forces.

The material and technical foundations of agriculture were gradually consolidated thanks to the great expansion of irrigation facilities, the increased supply of chemical fertilizer and farm machinery and implements and the wide application of advanced farming techniques. Grain and all other agricultural production grew apace with the expansion of cultivated areas and the many-sided development of collective farming on the principle of right crop on the right soil.

Along with the large-scale irrigation projects undertaken with state investment, small and medium-scale ones were widely carried out by the agricultural cooperatives themselves thanks to the superiority of the cooperative economy. Thus, during the five years of the cooperative movement from 1953 to 1958 the area of rice fields under irrigation more than doubled, bringing nearly all paddies under irrigation.

At the same time, river-dyke and erosion control projects and afforestation work were undertaken to protect 350,000 *chongbo* of farm land.

In 1958, the supply of chemical fertilizer grew 12 times over 1953.

The area cultivated with tractors swelled 12 times in the same period. Various modern trailer farm machines and farm implements were introduced in a big way.

In addition, there was a widespread introduction of various advanced farming methods including the rice cultivation with cold-bed rice seedlings which brought much higher yields.

All these material and technical means which were newly prepared with the powerful guidance and assistance of the working-class Party and state and on the strength of the superior socialist agricultural cooperative economy contributed to the sharp increase in the grain output and to a complete solution of the most urgent problem of food, overcoming severe natural calamities which had visited almost every postwar year.

In 1956 grain output already surpassed the prewar level, and the figure of 1958 was almost double that of 1946, the year

following liberation. Such a high yield had been beyond imagination before.

Many advanced agricultural cooperatives gathered rich crops unprecedented in our history.

The Tuam Agricultural Cooperative in Kangnam County, South Pyongan Province, harvested an average of 7.5 tons of rice per *chongbo* from 29 *chongbo* of its paddies in 1958. The Samryong Agricultural Cooperative in Sunchon County, South Pyongan Province, produced an average of three tons of maize per *chongbo* from 422 *chongbo* of land, and the Wonsa Agricultural Cooperative in Ongjin County, South Hwanghae Province, raised its per-*chongbo* yield of wheat to a maximum of 4.5 tons.

Along with grain production, the other branches of agriculture such as vegetables and industrial crop cultivation, animal husbandry, silk raising and fruit growing also developed apace.

In animal husbandry, the total number of cows in 1958 increased 1.3 times, pigs 2.8 times and meat output 3.2 times as compared with 1953.

In fruit growing, more than 53,000 *chongbo* of land suitable for fruit production was reclaimed only in a couple of years. In silk raising, the cocoon output in 1958 was 1.6 times the prewar peak.

The rapid growth of grain and other agricultural production fundamentally solved the country's food problem and fully met the demand of the fast-developing socialist industry for materials, thereby greatly contributing to the rapid advance of the national economy as a whole.

Agricultural cooperation also fully manifested its great vitality by consolidating the economic foundations of the agricultural cooperatives and speedily raising the living standards of their members on the basis of the rapid growth of agricultural production.

The proportion of joint accumulation in the cooperatives grew year after year. It had been approximately five per cent of their net income up to 1956, but it grew to some 10 per cent in 1957 and to over 15 per cent in 1958 to rapidly consolidate the economic foundations of the cooperatives. In 1958 the rate of common property of the agricultural cooperatives per family showed an increase of 2.4 times as compared with 1955. Thus, our cooperative economy was strengthened and developed into a large-scale socialist economy with a firm foundation to guarantee continuous extended reproduction.

Every year a large amount of joint accumulation and a greater amount of grain for seed and fodder were set aside in the agricultural cooperatives, and even with all this, the share allotted to their members increased systematically.

Each farm family's share in 1958 rose 1.5 times in grain, 2.6 times in potatoes and more than 3.6 times in cash as against 1955. As a result, poor peasants, who had made up roughly 40 per cent of the total farm families in the early period of cooperation, became well-off, and the peasants' living standards in our country on the whole reached the level of the middle peasants.

Agricultural cooperation also displayed its great vitality in building a socialist modern countryside.

The mud huts in the countryside, which had been used as dwellings for ages, were replaced with large numbers of attractive and convenient modern houses. Schools, clubs, nurseries, kindergartens, clinics, bathhouses and barbershops were newly set up in the cooperatives to assure free education and medical care and cultural life for the peasants. In this way, the backwardness of the countryside in culture began to be eliminated quickly.

Thanks to the introduction of universal compulsory primary and secondary education and the further strengthening of adult education, the peasants' level of general knowledge was enhanced, and their technical level rose rapidly with the wide expansion of the network of agro-technical education and the brisk operation of technical study groups in all the cooperatives.

Besides, the cultural level of the peasants was enhanced through the instrumentality of a cultural propaganda hall and a clubhouse in each cooperative and through the lively activities of cultural and art circles and sports groups, and a great success was achieved in eliminating the outdated customs of life and building a modern countryside.

The completion of the socialist transformation of agriculture accelerated the ideological remoulding of the peasants, solidly built up the rural positions and further strengthened the worker-peasant alliance on a new socialist basis, thus providing a vital guarantee for consolidating the revolutionary base of the northern half of the Republic politically and economically.

Thanks to its validity and indestructible vitality, our Party's agricultural policy for the consolidation and development of the agricultural cooperative economy enabled the quick rehabilitation and development of our agriculture which was in a difficult situation after the war, and thus brought about a big leap in grain and other agricultural production and provided a solid guarantee for its further development.

THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BRILLIANT VICTORY IN THE AGRICULTURAL COOPERATION MOVEMENT IN OUR COUNTRY

The agricultural cooperation movement in our country came to a successful conclusion at the end of August 1958.

This was a great revolution in our countryside and a brilliant victory for our Party's agricultural policy.

Under the wise leadership of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party obtained valuable experience and lessons in the whole course of carrying out the historic task of agricultural cooperation, which was a historic event that marked a new stage in promoting our revolution and construction and achieving the final victory of the revolution.

The historic significance of the shining victory in the agricultural cooperation movement in our country lies, first of all, in the fact that our countryside was turned into a free and happy one, into a socialist one where the working peasants could lead a decent, modern life.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"Our countryside, freed once and for all from all the sources of exploitation and poverty which had existed for thousands of years, has now been reorganized into a socialist countryside where all the working peasants can work and live together freely and happily" (*ibid.*, pp. 293-94).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung stated, as a result of the completion of agricultural cooperation, the sources of exploitation and poverty which had long existed were removed once and for all in our countryside and the working peasants became able to work and live together freely and happily. Thus, our countryside was reorganized into a socialist one where all the peasants could enjoy a decent life and modern amenities.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung illuminated the new road to cooperation to free the peasants from all sorts of exploitation and personally organized and guided the cooperative movement, with the result that the most advanced socialist

agricultural system was established in our countryside in a very short span of time.

This marked an epochal turning point in the historicall development of our country.

Another historic significance of the completion of agricultural cooperation lies in the fact that it turned the peasants, small proprietors of yesterday, into honourable socialist working people.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out:

"Millions of peasants in our country who until yesterday were small proprietors clinging to a patch of land, became masters of the unified, large-scale cooperative economy, honourable socialist working people" (*ibid.*, p. 294).

As the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said, with the completion of agricultural cooperation millions of peasants who had until yesterday been small proprietors sticking to fragmented private farming, i.e., small commodity production, became masters of the large-scalle socialist cooperative economy and honourable socialist working people who would build socialism and communism in our land. They thus underwent a fundamental change in their socio-economic status.

The completion of agricultural cooperation freed the peasants from the former unstable, weak private farming and brought them to lead a new life as masters of the large-scale cooperative economy developing quickly on a modern material and technical basis.

Further, the cooperation turned the peasant masses, who had been engaged in scattered, individual farming chiefly for their own living as small proprietors and small commodity producers, into socialist working people who, together with the working class, participated in a social division of labour for society and the people and for the realization of the historic cause of building socialism and communism.

As a result, a great change took place in the ideological consciousness of the peasant masses, too.

The peasants gradually overcame the outmoded feudalistic and capitalist ideas surviving in their minds; they all came to equip themselves with socialist ideas; their class consciousness of hating the landlord and capitalist classes was heightened; and the collectivist spirit of safeguarding the socialist cooperative economy, opposing individual selfishness and helping and pooling eaoh other forward was displayed.

Immensely heightened was their political and ideological determination to arm themselves firmly with the revolutionary ideas of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung who had brought them a happy life, by leading them along the new path of socialism, and to be faithful to the revolution in response to the Party's call.

The completion of agricultural cooperation not only brought about a radical change in the socio-economic status of the individual peasants by turning them into masters of the socialist collective economy, socialist working people, but also marked an epochal turning point in further strengthening our revolutionary forces by firmly uniting the peasants on a new socialist basis.

Further, the historic significance of the completion of agricultural cooperation lies in the fact that it opened a broad avenue for the development of agricultural productive forces.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said:

"The agricultural productive forces have been completely freed from all the fetters of the old production relations and a broad highway has been opened up for their development" (*ibid.*, p. 294).

As was pointed out by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, the completion of agricultural cooperation opened up a broad avenue for the development of the agricultural productive forces.

The socialist reorganization of agriculture which had been based on the old primitive techniques made it possible to accelerate the development of the agricultural productive forces by rapidly and vigorously pushing ahead with the technical revolution, drawing on the superiority of the large-scale cooperative economy.

This was clearly illustrated by the speedy development of the agricultural productive forces in our country after the cooperation.

Another historical significance of the completion of agricultural cooperation is that the victory of the agricultural cooperative movement further consolidated the worker-peasant alliance on a new, socialist basis and firmly united the peasant masses on the side of the working class to further strengthen our revolutionary forces.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung pointed out:

"As a result of the victory of the agricultural cooperative

movement, the worker-peasant alliance has been all the more consolidated on a new, socialist basis" (*ibid.*, p. 294).

Throughout the agricultural cooperative movement our working class holding power in its hands displayed its resolute fighting will and vigorous revolutionary stamina in giving state assistance and steady leadership to the peasants, thereby vividly demonstrating the justness of its cause to the peasant masses and uniting them solidly on its side.

Having been turned into masters of the large-scale cooperative economy, the socialist working people, from erstwhile small proprietors, the masses of the peasantry came to have common interests with the working class in the building of socialism, and this made the worker-peasant alliance all the more solid.

This constituted a decisive guarantee for the promotion of the socialist construction as a whole.

Yet, another historical significance of the completion of agricultural cooperation is that it hastened the socialist reorganization of trade and industry in towns and thus promoted the fulfilment of the overall tasks of the socialist revolution in our country.

The great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung said: **"The cooperativization of agriculture also promoted the reorganization along socialist lines of private trade and industry in towns"** (*ibid.*, p. 294).

Private trade and industry in our country were weak from the start, and they were mainly based on small commodity production in the countryside.

With the cooperation of the individual peasant economy, the last foothold of capitalist elements collapsed to accelerate the socialist transformation of trade and industry in towns.

Thus, in our country the cooperation of agriculture and the socialist transformation of private trade and industry proceeded side by side and were completed almost simultaneously.

This shows that the completion of agricultural cooperation played a great role in speeding up the fulfilment of the tasks of the socialist revolution in our country.

The victory of the agricultural cooperative movement in our country and the valuable experience gained in practice advanced and enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory on the socialist revolution, the socialist transformation of agriculture in particular. They serve as a priceless experience for hundreds of millions of world people who are to embark on the road of socialism.

The valuable practical experience gained by our Party, our peasants and all our people in their struggle to carry out agricultural cooperation in our country under the wise guidance of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung clearly shows:

Firstly, that the new path of agricultural cooperation indicated by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the respected and beloved leader of our Party and people, was the only correct path and a genuinely Marxist-Leninist path.

The socialist transformation of the private peasant economy in our country under the sagacious guidance of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung rendered it possible to quickly restore and develop agriculture and improve the peasants' living standards even under the difficult postwar circumstances and convert our countryside into a rich, modern socialist countryside equipped with the latest technology in a short period of time.

Secondly, that the cooperation of agriculture is possible even when primitive technique predominates in agriculture and no modern machinery and technology are available and that the agricultural cooperative economy organized even on this basis is decidedly advantageous over the individual peasant economy or the capitalist economy.

Only through agricultural cooperation was it possible for our country, once a backward agrarian country where primitive technique was predominant in agriculture, to rapidly restore and develop agriculture and promote its technological transformation at an exceptionally fast rate.

Thirdly, that the firm leadership of the working-class party, the boundless trust of the masses in the Party and their high revolutionary zeal—these were the sure guarantees and vital factors in all victories, including victory in the socialist transformation of agriculture, a difficult and complex task.

The victory of the agricultural cooperative movement in our country shows that our Party's policy which applied the new line of agricultural cooperation elucidated by the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung was correct and that when the Party has a high prestige among the masses and the latter, firmly convinced of the correctness of the former's policy through life, rise as one to implement it, there can be no insurmountable difficulty, and any task, whatever arduous and complicated, can be fulfilled with success.

All the brilliant successes and practical experience gained by our Party and people in the agricultural cooperative movement, following the road indicated by the great revolutionary

leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, will afford most valuable lessons to the revolutionary people of all continents as well as our people.

* * *

Under the wise leadership of the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, our Party and our people vigorously struggled to fulfil the arduous task of agricultural cooperation, valiantly overcoming the manifold difficulties facing our revolution, and won a brilliant victory.

Thus, the old socio-economic relations that had for thousands of years shackled our peasants to harsh exploitation and oppression were completely liquidated and a firm socialist system established in our countryside.

This meant a great revolutionary change in our country's socio-economic development and a brilliant victory for our Party's agricultural policy.

This shining victory was the result of our energetic struggle to thoroughly implement the original policy on agricultural cooperation defined by Comrade Kim Il Sung, the great revolutionary leader, originator of the Juche idea and benevolent father of our people.

The establishment of the socialist system in the countryside put an end to exploitation and oppression for good and finally eliminated the antagonism between town and country. Yet this could not eradicate the differences between town and country and the class distinctions between the workers and the peasantry.

Even after the completion of agricultural cooperation and the establishment of the socialist system in our countryside, the countryside lagged behind the towns in the technical, cultural and ideological spheres, and, because of this, the differences between industry and agriculture in ownership and level of economic management still existed.

The difference in ownership was an essential one that determined the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry, and the difference in the level of economic management was also a major one.

At the National Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives held in January 1959 to sum up the historic victory of agricultural cooperation, the respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung set forth the historic task to consolidate and

develop the socialist agricultural system by stepping up the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside after the establishment of the socialist system and by improving the management of the agricultural cooperative economy.

With a view to radically improving the work method to suit the new circumstances where the socialist system had been established, the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung created the great Chongsan-ri spirit, Chongsan-ri method in February 1960 through his on-the-spot guidance to Kangso County and Chongsan-ri, South Pyongan Province. He applied it to the guidance and management of socialist rural economy and evolved a new, original system of agricultural management under which the cooperative economy is guided and run by industrial method.

The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung put forward the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* by scientifically crystallizing valuable experience he accumulated in consolidating and developing our socialist rural economic system after the completion of agricultural cooperation. In this theses the leader clarified a scientific communist thought on finally solving the rural question through the elimination of the differences between industry and agriculture, between the towns and the countryside as well as the class distinction between the working class and the peasantry, by continuing with the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions in the countryside.

This immortal classic was adopted as our Party's programme for socialist rural construction at the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee in February 1964.

The *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country* is displaying a great vitality in our countryside and brightly illumines the road of building socialism and communism.

In our socialist countryside a great success has been made in powerfully pushing ahead with the technical, cultural and ideological revolutions and in bringing the level of agricultural management up to the level of advanced industrial method of enterprise management.

The great historic tasks of socialist rural construction set forth by the great revolutionary leader Comrade Kim Il Sung in his immortal classic, the *Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country,* are now being splendidly carried out.

Our socialist cooperative economic system is being consolidated and developed as days go by and we are now making a vigorous advance towards the final solution of the rural question.

Printed in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

No. 59200